

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1971

Canadian correspondence: Jan-Feb.

Canadian correspondence from Europe: Feb.-June

Canadian correspondence upon RD's return from Europe: Aug.thru Dec.

European (international) correspondence: Feb.-July (see separate file)

Canadian correspondence

- 01_19 Circular to all Branches, Locals and Members at Large: Comrades: Czech-language theoretical journal available; Greek edition FI
- 01_22 Circular to Comrades, re: Solidarity (fund) Campaign underway
- 02_14 +(Document adopted by the PC): **Constitution of the National Committee**; Attached: "Excerpts from Election Policy in 1948" by J.P.Cannon (SWP-USA)

Canadian movement correspondence from Europe

- 02_22 Letter to John (R.) re: RD's arrival in Europe; list of housekeeping items re centre
- 02_25 Letter to John (R.) (*incomplete?*) re: comments on last issue of *Labor Challenge*; our and Waffle's evaluation of Quebec & the PQ
- 03_03 Letter to Jacquie (H.) re: success of latest issue of *Young Socialist* and growth of YS, critique of YS articles, on the YS HQ house
- 03_03B Letter to John (R.) re: European protests against Czech trials; local centre affairs and international finances; critique of latest *LC* on Acadia and Quebec
- 03_11 Letter to John (Glenn), and Eddie, Philippines re: need some basic evaluation of the struggle and setting up a journal
- 03_11B Letter to John (R.) re: Wayne's critique of book on radical politics; Quebec and other contacts to follow up on; Philippines politics in the FI-HQ; Toronto personnel and Canadian campaigns/issues
- 03_11C Letter to Manon (L.,) Montreal re: her coming trip to Europe
- 03_13 Letter to John (R.) re: broadening the Czech defense campaign; the centre Hall, acquiring a press; centre finances and fund drives

- 03_13B Letter to Dear (*sisters*) Ruth Dowson and Lois Bedard, re: Ruth's trip to Greece; central heating in Europe; beautiful Bruxelles
- 03_13C Letter to the Dowsons of Unsworth Ave., Toronto, re: RD's lack of hearing French; central heating; high school revolt in Paris
- 03_23 Letter to John (R.) and John (S.) re: the minority in Quebec; concern over Art and Alain and a replacement for Art; details of the centre's operations; Attachment: comments and critique of *LC* issue
- 03_24 Letter to Art (Y.) re: puzzled by politics of the Quebec minority and situation in Montreal; need to mobilize on Vietnam victory support; concern about certain comrades and majority leadership; expulsions not the answer
- 03_30 Letter to Art (Y.)(incomplete?), re: crisis in the Montreal local; a majority faction declared but a joint strategy with centre to declare war on the minority ignored; the question of leadership supreme, how to move out boldly
- 03_31 Letter to John (R.) re: critique of *LC* issue and articles
- 03_31B Letter to Coral (S.) re: centre administration business; leases, loans and finances
- 04_01 Letter to Vern (Olson) re: the importance of him retiring and taking on a leading role in the movement
- 04_01B Letter to Jacquie (H.) re: fine *Young Socialist* coverage of Czech defense action; comments on youth centre and activities; need for an educational conference; advice on all aspects and opportunities of youth work
- 04_04 Letter to sisters Ruth & Lois, re: their trip to Europe; Canadian news from the papers they send
- 04_07 Letter to Manon (L., Montreal), re: expecting you in Europe soon; her schedule
- 04_08 Letter to John (R.) and John (S.) re: need to follow mainstream women's press; problems of promoting leaders in English and French Canada; the need for new leadership in Montreal, at least temporarily
- 04_15 Letter to John (R.) re: critique of latest *LC*; discussion of interventions and assignments
- 04_15B Letter to Jeff (W.?) re: misc. joyful admin

- 04_23 Letter to Joe (Y.?) re: strong advice on staying in the youth centre
- 04_23B Letter to John (R.) and John (S) re: conspiratorial visit by Mike Mill to Europe; lack of any serious discussions with Mandel and no report of his discussion with Mill; no information on Ceylon situation and LSSP(R); low-key Tariq Ali Belgian meeting; centre affairs and personnel assignments; RD's schedule
- 04_24 Letter to John (R.) and John (S.) (incomplete?) re: the Canadian international donation; problems of developing Québécois leadership; centre personnel and projects
- 04_24B Letter to (nieces) Eleanor, Jeannette & Anne and nephew Walter, and brother Hugh and wife Clare, re: Thanks for Easter gifts; busy social schedule & anti-war demonstrations; Page 2: Who was Rosa Luxemburg? Rosa the youth and prodigy militante
- 04_28 Letter to John (R.) re: rush Canadian movement samples for Commune celebration; note from Manon on RD's return.
- 04_30 Letter to Art (Y., cc to John R.) re: Manon's schedule; she as well as RD meet total indifference to Canada in Italy; critique of latest *Libération* (Montréal.); on the weakness of our main slogans on Quebec; on the way we use the demand for unilingualism; FI watching us
- 05_05 Letter to John (R.) and John (S.) re: big shakeups in personnel planned; discussion of personnel & building a cadre team
- 05_06 Letter to Karen (--?) re: new book ``The British in Vietnam`` (See also below: European correspondence May 4)
- 05_23 Letter to Jacquie (H.) re: travels with Manon, celebrating the Paris Commune with the YS; critique of last issue of *Young Socialist*
- 06_04 **Letter to (sisters)** Ruth and Lois, re: the book on the British role in Vietnam; their visit in Belgium together
- 06_11 Letter to Joan (N?) re: question of personnel in the centre; discussion of comrades' roles and personal crises; the role of women in the leadership; his return at end of June

Canadian correspondence upon R.D.'s return from Europe

- 08_00 (Est. 1980s undated note by R.D.) "The beginning of the end" on head of document by Dennis L.(?) on the serious crisis of leadership of the Young Socialists in a turn away from Trotskyism (*page 1 of 6 only reproduced*)

- 08_04 + Minutes of Political Committee: R.D. ("Kent") in attendance, makes various reports; attached letter to EC of YC/LJS and CC or LSA/LSO announcing plenums in August, agendas
- 08_28 A Document: **1) Report by R.D. on the (Fourth) International**, to the Plenum of the C.C. of the LSA-LSO, **2) Statement of the Montreal Tendency** (M. Mill--abstention)
- 08_28B Document: **"The NDP and the Waffle"** a report to the Plenum of the C.C., LSA-LSO by Dick F., a document which later formed part of the platform of the 1973 Labor Party Tendency – see March 16, 1973 (Note lack of analysis of Waffle's nationalism)
- *09_99 *(undated, found in September) Document: speech by RD "50 Years of revolutionary socialism (in Canada 1921-1971;)" Where the LSA is going; where it came from in 1921; How the first Communists became the first Trotskyists; the Trotskyists stand up to the Stalinization drive; The LSA carries on the spirit of '21-- SEE 'Speeches to the LSA"*
- 10_08 Letter from Toronto to Dick (F., Vancouver) re: movement finances and activities
- 10_30a Appeal to the United Secretariat of the F.I. by Mill & followers to the LSA/LSO
- 10_30b Document by R.D. **"Reply by the Political Committee to the Mill appeal"** (to the F.I.): a defence of the actions and practises of the Canadian Section against the allegations of the Mill faction
- 10_30B Document (unsigned, by a PC member): **Report on the Maritimes suspensions**; the suspensions and reinstatements of four members in Fredericton, N.B.; the actions of the Control Commission set up to investigate charges of gross disloyalty, as listed; report by R. Dowson and C.L. on the hearings
- 11_05 +Circular to all branches of the LSA/LSO, Locals of YS/LJS and members-at-large: Can it be done? Will we make our 4,000 sub objective; success at York U., delayed by Amchitka demonstrations
- 11_15 +Circular to all branches and members-at-large LSA/LSO: Solidarity Fund Drive announced, \$6600 goal; pledges received, funds for FI
- 11_15B +Document: **"Finding of the Political Committee"** on the suspensions and charges against four youth comrades in the Maritimes; the findings of the Control Commission; the involvement of the FI

- 12_06 +Circular to all branches and members at large: delays in launching the planned theoretical journal, outstanding fund drive pledges
- 12_08 +Letter to Comrades: problems in circulating our press and films in a timely and cost-effective manner

LSA Central Office
334 Queen Street W.
Jan 19, 1971

To All Branches, Locals, and Members at Large;

Dear Comrades,

The Central office has just received copies of number two of "Informacni Materialy". It is a nicely printed 46 page theoretical journal in the Czech language. It contains a dozen articles on a wide selection of subjects of importance to Czech revolutionaries. It sells at 60 cents a copy.

We think it is probable that some branches and locals have contact with recent immigrants who are interested in our ideas but with whom we have communication problems.

"Informacni Materialy" will be a big boon for our work in so far as Czech militants are concerned. With this tool in hand every branch and local should think seriously of intervening in Czech immigrant groups in Canada. A series of basic Trotskyist pamphlets in the Czech language will also soon be available.

The Central Office also has on hand copies of the Greek edition of the the Fourth International published in exile--it sells for 75 cents.

Our Italian comrades publish a theoretical journal "Quarta Internazionale" which we have on hand and which sells for 75 cents. The vast wave of Italian immigrants are therefore not a closed door to our politics as they have been in the past. If the branches and locals get a good response to "Quarta Internazionale" we are prepared to import some titles from the wide list of revolutionary socialist books and pamphlets available in the Italian language.

comradely,

Ross Dowson

Central Office
334 Queen St W. Toronto

Jan. 22, 1971

Dear Comrades:

Early last December we launched our Solidarity Campaign. The Objective was \$2,475.00. This campaign was designed to serve two functions. 1) to raise funds for our work in the International. Each year the International has a financial campaign to raise funds needed for its expanding work. Since this year it came on the heels of our annual fund drive, we temporarily allocated funds from the CO fund which we intended to make up in the process of this campaign which came at a more advantageous time. 2) to raise funds as a contribution of the LSA/LSC to the work of the YS/LJS.

Due to the confusion through the executive secretary's absence, and the pressures which arose from the imposition of the War Measures Act, the campaign never properly got underway. Some branches and members at large following receipt of the second circular letter reported that they had never received a copy of the first correspondence that had been mailed out.

Despite this confusion the campaign in some areas went forward and reached successful conclusions. For example, Toronto went over its target by \$91.00. In others it never got off the ground or is still in operation.

The standing as of this date is outlined below.

As you can see a whole series of areas and branches such as Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Kitchener Waterloo, St Catharines, Richmond Hill, etc., and members at large as in Lloydminster and Sudbury have made no contribution to the drive.

We would like to hear from all points and receive all funds that may be on hand as well as reports on the state of affairs of this drive.

Comradely,
Ross Dowson.

Y.S. fund drive

Monday Feb 22, 1971

South-SWP(VSA)

Toronto

Dear John; R

Arrived via Luxembourg to find Alan in the apartment and then to go through two days of the U.S. meeting.

But here are a few details to clear away right away;

1--Joe H was very much interested in seeing the selection from the Tariq Ali tape that you made==but he wants the whole thing. Is it possible for someone to take everything off the tape and send it to Joe. If it is not--why not make a copy of the tape and send the copy to Joe and he can have it taken off. Hans would be pleased to make a copy of the tape that you borrowed off the Hamilton comrade. He thinks that it is just what he wants in answering Livio and Ernest-Gisela. It would be good if this could be done with some dispatch.

2- Remind Coral that Harry told her what has to be done about the metal caps on the skylights over the pool tables. Harry says that there is no use trying to get them repaired--they are rotten. So save Hans and Joe all the trouble they are going to. They need to be replaced. I gather from Harry they are standard. He says that they can be obtained from Brint's on Bathurst Street....look up the phone book. I would suppose we can take one of them off if we cover over the hole well with say a plastic garbage bag tied down tight to show Brint's the size. I think that you will find that we need three of them replaced. Since they are standard with very little if any fitting they will not cost too much.

3- In the next day or so==perhaps you already have it --a cheque will be in from the south for \$50. That is to go into the bookstore. It is the money I took from there to go to the US--of course possibly Jeff has already had to have Coral replace it.

4- Very shortly a copy of George Novack's new book Democracy and Revolution will be coming in addressed to me but possibly to John Riddell. This copy is to be taken up to professor C.B. Macpherson at U of T. I told George N that we would do that.

5--I had a talk with Marvin Siegal of Pathfinder. This part of the letter is for Jeff. The pamphlet Black Power in the Caribbean was being worked on when I was there. They were trying to design the cover. I suggested that they use one of the photographs that we used for the series we ran in Labor Challenge--that at the worst they could use one or the other as a line shot. They are going to go through their file but may be writing for a copy or so. As I recall we do not have any good originals but took them from the oilworkers paper. This pamphlet will not be out for at least a month so whatever we want to do to make the West Indian leader's tour more useful we cannot consider having the pamphlet. ~~Perhaps~~ Marvin was asking what we do about readers copy requests that Crescent may get from time to time--particularly from profs. I told him on the basis of one discussion I had had with Jeff that we were not granting them as we knew we did not and doubted if they had the money to fill them. He tells me that we should fill them and they in NY will replace them or credit them. They are aware that the odd prof uses this means to build his library but they are not worried about ferreting him out. Others are honest and serious and it has resulted in very big orders that have more than paid off both financially and politically. ...whole classes studying the Permanent Revolution etc.

know what we should do with reader copy requests that we received back before this school term. Perhaps we should let them go. But they want us to fill new requests that could take us into this term. Jeff--I think you will recall a report I made of conversations with them at 873 a year or so ago. At that time they wanted to cover library sales. They are now agreeable to our getting these sales and will supply us with all the copies of the catalogue we want. We will want to put Vanguard Publications in that mailing. It would be good if we could organize that mailing. I think that I gave you that almanac that lists all libraries. Possibly a later list is available at the reference library. ..and perhaps we should shrink it down a bit. Needless to say I was unable to find the time to see Monthly Review about an exclusive. In many ways Jeff it would be best for you to go down there in person--particularly if you can get in via youth fare. Make an appointment and also see Marvin. If it cannot be done that way write a letter but let it be more sensitive than I think most of your letters are. There is much at stake. I may well be going over to England on the March 6 weekend to among other matters see New Left Books.

6-- There is an issue of Labor Challenge or maybe we were Workers Vanguard I would like ~~xxxxxx~~ It contains almost one whole page made up of a memorial article on Maurice Spector and a review of Soldiers of the Revolution--that book on the early days of the Canadian CP. I am sure that a copy can be located with little difficulty and ailed to the Brussels address here. There is also a copy of Queen's Quarterly I would like. Perhaps Bob Mc could make a photo copy. It is a fairly recent issue ~~the~~ the article I want is on the multi-national corporation and the author is one of the speakers at the Brandon Seminar. I think his name is Birchall--he spoke with the CLC regional organizer and Kuziak of Waffle. You will see their names listed together in the article saying who was who at the Brandon affair. This is an important article. It is probably only four or five pages and together with the one sheet from our paper on Spector would cost very little to airmail. Incidentally, would you start the Labor Challenge coming to Paul Deschanel again?

There are several other matters that I will take up in a common letter to you and the south carbon copy.

fraternally

Ross

*note added on Verme staff
+ Brandon money*

February 25, 1970
Belgium

Toronto

Dear John; R

Finally got around to reading the February 15th issue -a here are a few comments for your consideration.

All in all I think that it is a good issue--although from a couple of items + got the impression that it was somewhat hastily edited on several levels

For instance it seems to me that Laxer is ^{not} widely enough known to be used as a headline word--and Waffle in two headlines and not at all necessary on the 6th page one. I don't see why we would have the Rose case take the lead in the Montreal trials when the Big Five are not only more important but even more sensational. Front page lead article third column---"The VMC views these actions ---" and you look around and you gather they are the actions reported not before but to be reported later

And now as I see from the various notes most of my comments are regarding Dick's contributions.

Yes--Rose getting the lead ---then the lead on page 2 article the comments by Bourdon. A nice image, drama and all that but do ~~xxxx~~ we really think Quebec is Canada's Vietnam--do we think an independent Quebec poses such a challenge to Canada. Of course Bourdon said ~~xx~~ it but we don't publish everything that someone says and particularly are we selective about leads. It seems to me that Dick is getting carried away with a vivid image. I think his article on page 6 is an illadvised one. I think this type of article requires ~~xxx~~ consultation with Quebec. It is unfortunate that on many occasions we have had to call the Quebec line from the pages of LC but ~~xxx~~ we were under no impulse to bang in on this it is Movement for a New Alliance so fast. It so happens that it is not Waffle --although Dick not only has it "composed mainly if not entirely of Quebec Waffle supporters..."

Having attended the meeting called by this New Alliance group on the Saturday before the enlarged PC meeting in Montreal it is obvious to me that we needed a totally different article which of course could not have been written for the issue of the 15th but needed some Montreal experience.

Both this group and the Quebec NDP are liquidationist and with Waffle trying to carry a federal leadership campaign I would be very surprised if it would identify itself with either current. I see Dick quotes Laxer's proposition of seating PQers at the NDP convention but there is also his statement at the Quebec meeting where he publicly differentiated himself from chairman statements that the PQ was in some way a Quebec counterpart of the NDP--he said it was a bourgeois party. I think that earlier statement is somewhat suspect and of course our attitude to Waffle must be based on hard fact.

Dick has us say that the NDP is not that party (the Quebec labor party) at the very ~~junction~~ moment when outside of Quebec the Waffle is trying to win the NDP to a policy that would be an entirely correct one for it to have -- that would smash its federalist image and at a time when those few who understand the need for a Quebec labor party who might be around the Quebec NDP are being faced by this Alliance which wants to liquidate into the PQ and the Quebec NDP machine also wants to ~~maximize~~ throw in the towel with a face saving gesture that it will keep the embers glowing for federal elections. I had a discussion with the Montreal comrades about the line we should take at last weekend's Quebec convention--it was to pose very sharply in the name of the LSO so as to heighten our attractiveness the idea that the NDP should be sustained to provide a nucleus for an ongoing process of regroupment of forces for a Quebec labor party.

I think that this article is a definite mistake and the Quebec comrades could be quite justifiably up in arms about it

Incidentally I see Dick phrases in another way what Bourdon said "whose developing struggle for independence promises to shake the very foundations of capitalist rule in this country." Pardon me now that I have typed it I see that it is not at all Bourdon's statement and that it is correct. ~~Now the dynamic of the struggle threatens~~ The dynamic of the struggle ~~threatens~~ threatens capitalist rule. Sometime we should have a little discussion---I think that the Canadian capitalist class are capable of adjusting to this struggle and defusing it along the lines that Levesque suggests for a whole period

I hope that John is able to get behind the Kitchener-waterloo tribunal ~~item~~ project and we are able to carry it forward--now that ~~the~~ our big victory would seem to have changed things with the trials---good we got that item in what with their meeting.

Good we got the Debray item in--and the head is excellent. It would have been better if we had had more space to carry more of the interview

I thought that ALICE's article on the U of T struggle since she moved up to the details did not correctly handle our operation. Did Joe check this article? ~~xxxx~~ The tie vote faced us with a dilemma can a strike be carried off. There was no leadership and we were unable to establish one so it was not even possible to work out an intelligent strategy--either of trying to firm up a strike or ~~xxxx~~ taking the movement in such a direction as to build up towards one. I hope the YS article comes to grips with this more satisfactorily.

S

Missed union news. I hope that John has gone into that railway union unification matter. Lovell is pressing us in some way--he sent us a letter but I forget the contents. Tell you have some British union news now

Bruxelles
March 3, 1971

Toronto

Dear Jacques ¹⁴

but

Thanks for the note. I don't know what all the apologies are about ~~xxx~~ It is true though I suppose it won't add anything very profound when they come to write up your biography. It has one great overwhelming and redeeming feature. It is still as of looking in the mail box this morning the very first letter that I have received. So it is particularly welcome.

Glad to get the latest issue of Young Socialist. And here goes. All in all I thought that it was a very good issue. Lots of life, sparkle which has sometimes been lacking. And of course it was very good to see from the cover and your enclosed note that we have some people who can draw prepared to do something for us. Good for Don and Wally that they took the initiative to move in one Open Studio. It is true of course that we don't take enough initiatives, don't operate as if anyone wants to or is able to do anything for us outside our own movement and sometimes even outside what we call our cadre. We tend to get worn down with hopes that went nowhere so that we come to expect nothing from no one--ourselves alone. Which is all wrong--

The revolutionaries have to overcome the psychology that years of difficulties, rejections, refusals, failures and defeats have formed in the And we must be very careful that the older comrades --those who have been around 5 to 9 years don't transmit this to the new forces that are coming around us. The objective situation is a thousand times more revolutionary than 99 per cent of us who are convinced and dedicated revolutionists sense. The new radicalization is only a pale reflection of this objective situation on the mind of humankind

It is good to see Don and Wally move right in. I hope that we really recruit over the next period right across the movement and pick up many more like them --and Lorna of course. In fact I don't know why the YS doesn't set itself some kind of recruitment drive. A campaign to build the YS with a total atmosphere ---objectives etc. We could have it culminate in say three big conferences --4. BC, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec and yes 5, the Maritimes. We should put the heat on the League to provide a big educational effort to back it up and consolidate it. With big regional conferences at the close of the drive--say just before school opens.

We don't have to worry about being inundated, about the diluting of our ideology. We have no ideological opponents--and besides the whole movement is very impressive on any new forces coming in. What with the past coventio discussions I feel that the leadership has consolidated its position and at any rate there never was any questioning of its political authority. There was just a feeling that it is conservative. Well that was only sustained by the leadership's failure to level with the membership. Now we have levelled and we all agree WE ARE TOO CONSERVATIVE.

Yes, it would see that the artists are good. They didn't take the time and care for it is obvious that they have skill. Too bad we weren't able to

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show them what Macpherson did with Diefenbaker on the same line. Probably we just need to work with them closer--with a little enthusiasm and patience. I would think that the movement itself with its fine hall to be decorated could be quite attractive to any young creative artist. Hope we can recruit them

Let them eat shit. Does everyone know about this statement of Trudeau? You would be surprised how many active and intelligent people don't read the press--or read papers that would not report this and his later one when he said ~~the~~ the Tories-fuck you. Ken I see has a little paragraph buried well down in the article instead of coming in at first and then there is Lorna's comment. Perhaps we should have found some way to explain the let them eat shit. Probably there are several ways--easiest start off Ken's article with the incident and quote and have in the Trudeau balloon see page five.

Possibly these artists did the drawing on page 8 and on page 9. Quite good. Although on the do it it seems to me it makes the add too large. In fact I have a feeling that generally speaking while it is good we got away from teeny weeny adds that had also no appeal idea I think perhaps we have gone too far the other way for instance Jeune Garde on page 3 Being out of work on page 5. Of course we are stuck with the bad one which is fine on page 10 and with the join the YS on page 11. But along with the great number of cuts, line, photo and ads the paper seems to me to be somewhat choppy and lacking in style

The back page layout is excellent--would have been even better if the purple at the top was deeper and the lettering a little stronger. But very attractive photo essay

I see that Lorna uses "our" parliament and Al uses "our" rubber products, "our" petroleum. In speaking it can be said with a certain tone of voice, in type it can be put in quotes....I think it should be. It seems to me to be more permissible to speak than to write this way. In any of the other material that we have wrote on this question we have never ~~known~~ communicated in these terms. I thought that Al's article was good but it seems to me that he never read the first article in Canada-US Relations--a socialist viewpoint. It deals with this Matthes quota system and brings another strong point out that Al missed--that the professors at the CLM want to get rid of are in large number refugees from the US war machine--the draft are largely radicals and in fact probably have done ~~more~~ more for genuine Canadian studies than Canadian born profs. Cdn profs are usually trying to make their way into the profession as such and its best iced section the US academia--they write doctorates on US themes--these Ex-USers have been researching and writing Cdn themes. That book on the Mackenzie Battalion was written by a US exile. Incidentally I am much against give the US the term Americans, America. We are and all the people on this and the southern continent are Americans--south latin or Canadian. American (US imperialism has coopted the word. Some places you can't do anything about it since there is no word--United States or User--and Yankee throughout the whole population workers and boss together. But there are--Washington, The Pentagon, US imperialists, Wall Street--other words. Incidentally it is a fine drawing by MacPherson--however the cat doesn't want the gold fish inside him. He is already in there and therefore wants to maintain the myth of Canadian swimming around large and apparently independent

Thought the edit was a little unweildy. I think we should take up the letter Keep your cool--~~xxxxxx~~ as we should take up LaRue Langois. Either

in an article or letters to editor. I suppose you noted that LLO talks about the revolution only as an independentist phenomena (independent BC) and see the enemy only as US imperialism--never as Canadian capitalism --in fact he is just a nationalist with a long range socialist concept. ~~Was~~ I went through the last issue of Jeune Garde from which you took this article in great detail with Manon. They intend to take this up. Maybe you should write them and see if you can use their material on this. As for the letter --we have to take that up. Who is Mary F. Why did we use only an initial here. A mixed up reformist -centrist letter. This question of violence, terrorism, revolutionary action is becoming a big thing--in the international dispute.

Why didn't we change Uncle Sam's hat in the LC ad on page 5 to a Canadian flag or a maple leaf

You have me a little worried about our situation in that terrible little company town of Black's Harbour--what are we going to do--make the insurrection in one little small company town

~~There is an article somewhere in the paper which says that the company town is a very bad thing and that the workers should strike~~ I am not sure whether the ad job on page 5 comes off---with friends like these who need enemies...."

Strike me that there must have been a paragraph cut out of Joe's article ---at any rate it doesn't follow very well. What was the focus that you have Alice talking about? Was it not our attempt to direct the struggle against the Board of Governors. In the 3rd column Joe says; "This indecisive vote made it impossible to organize a strike." In a union situation such a vote would have compelled an immediate back to work together action. However while it was a setback since you lost the powerful argument that a majority gives you it is possible in a student situation to go on. The referendum is an absurd idea anyway as most students are seldom at the campus. With an effective leadership this action could have gone on--a unified cohesive leadership was lacking eh-what. I was not satisfied with the way it was handled in Challenge. No matter. I just hope that on the ~~local~~ local plane we had a good and intelligent discussion. My impression--possibly quite wrong is that Alice and Elly and Katy are not bold enough, not aggressive enough--not prepared to be leaders. in their own milieu. You know how we have never come to grips with the U of T situation. It would be good if without recriminations we could move towards getting an understanding of things there. Too bad we did not have a shot of the Trotsky quote on the winning of majorities--and disappointed that it was not mentioned in the article.

The editorial on page 8 is an excellent idea. Took up too much space and lacks a bit of working over--wit, whimsy. Don's article is very good but why is he using his name. Regardless of what I see you say in your letter I see upon reading the paper I had marked on your article VERY GOOD

I thought that Richard's article should have been cut. The Fredericton article while good seems awfully dated. Looking forward to seeing some more places on the map in the next list of YS--where is Orillia, Newmarket, Barrie and for that matter St Kits etc etc--Oshawa

The publication committee. Well I see two ads on the pamphlet for an Independent and Socialist Canada--Has it come out. Did you choose one of the three designs--and make all the decisions on the cover--what is to go on it etc etc. As you know it was held up for lack of money.

Well there are a coiple of other pamphlets that we have decided are politically necessary over the next period. I have taken on the task to write them over here. 1 The LSA/LSO and the NEW Democratci Party. Just the other day I was taking a few notes during an idle moment. 2 The Hist of Cdn Trotskyism. 3 A popular history of the Canadian Trade Union Movement I havent started on any one of them. First because of the continued postal strike in England. I sent most of the material over by post to England and cannot get it yet. Then I havent yet had the time to get down to ~~the~~ work with the material I have. I was off to Paris last weekend. I exepct to star very shortly. Since you havent got the guts yet, it is hard to start on the publication. But you could well ~~xxx~~ be thinking on covers, titles, formats And maybe you should be thinking of funds. Do we think that it is possible to start a publications fund. As you know there has been a bot of heat on me to do the Trotskyism thing. Perhaps it can raise money. I could even send over the first chapter for publication as part of a campaign. As you see we can get started. And who knows once we meet--what ideas will come out

Glad you like the room. Nothing is too good. Of course the library is not organized as you have noticed. And there are whole areas and titled missing over the past decade or so when I have had no money. Just keep it locked up and would you get Zane to return that pile of books on philosophy--listed on an organe sheet on one of the shelves. Glad you have no complaints about the bed--nothing like a double bed. for comfort. Dont ever complain about the heat there. I havent been worm since I left that place. Right now it is below freezing in Brussels and like everyone else in this small place I am having to operate my own little furnce to heat my place. A stppid little sto that heats a hot water system limited to my own five rooms. And it seems so stupid and ~~daa~~ ridiculours waste of coal that I buy in paper bags at 80 cents each to heat five rooms--all the more when I am down here in the centre and sleeping except for the priod when I go home to make supper and before bed. I have of course shut off two of the bed rooms. I hope in the ne couple of weeks before you get all the melting and rain that you and Kate or conscripts will take down the ceiling in the hall--and get Harry and George to for once finish the job.

And has Coral got the vents over the pool room skylights fixed.

I can hardly wait for Spring to come. You dont know what a great conquest central heating really is

Of course it would be very good if many could come but it would really be good if Manon could come to the French convention--and to the Paris Commune celebrations in Paris--the first is April 10-11-12 and the latter 14-15th May. The Icelanda fare is really considerabley cheaper--I had only the figures for their regualr fare. But I came over on a 45 day excursion that cost only 213,00 US. Has Manon got her inheritcane. Tell Helen C those dates. And now that I look them up I have her coming to England on the 14th of May. Of course she should make it France. As you have noted above we have lots of room here in Bruselles

comradely

Ross

March 3, 1971

Toronto

Dear John *JK*

I am addressing this and other letters to you for immediate attention. They could as well go to John Steele but then he is there only half the time and I don't want them waiting around. You will recall last experience--Long after I had sent material such as the Passos book review I returned to find them still sitting around in Coral's file. As you know she is overwhelmed with work. I think I told you that one day in discussing with that former American comrade who is working with her that last month we were still processing changed from last October on our most urgent of all efforts Labor Challenge. Experience tells us that Coral will never complain.

And so I am leaving space between some of the items so that you could if you thought necessary separate them and hand them to various persons to act upon.

Czech trials. I am a little late on this. Ernest handed me the enclosed letter a couple of days ago. But I misunderstood him. I thought that he had sent it to you and this was a copy for me. I agree we need an action on this. I am enclosing the latest from the London Times. Really important developments. Unfortunately I do not have Rouge here. But a few days ago they carried an excellent action. They moved in and with about 25 comrades occupied the Czech embassy in Paris, for about 25 minutes. They held a press conference in there. I suppose they informed the press as they were already in the embassy. They had signs prepared which they hung outside announcing their occupation....an appeal for the release of our comrades on Czech territory. As you can see our comrades are only being accused of having ideas. Ernest's letter doesn't suggest any particular action. The English had a picket line--very limited. But in my opinion the occupation idea is not at all a bad one--in fact a good action. I doubt that we could get any outside of our forces for any action so this is quite sensational. What could the police do...only escort you out. We could announce at the very beginning that the occupation is for only 20 minutes. This cautions the Czech staff. We have a prepared statement. The place of course is Ottawa. I do not see why we could not carry it off with say a carload of comrades going up from Toronto--including such leading comrades as you, Jacquie or Joe. At any rate I think we should move on some project right away. I am all in favor of the Ottawa occupation speaking from across the ocean. This would have to be organized on the QT--contacting Ottawa on private telephone booths both ways--with the closest security.

Send the clipping right away after copying to Intercontinental. I am sure they have nothing as late or as detailed as this.

I spent last weekend with the Pongs. They are having trouble getting their Chinese translated into English. The only comrade in Hong Kong who is capable is apparently ill. There is another comrade--in Toronto. You know him as Jerry Liang. I think his real name is Chow. ~~He~~ We used to send him material to a box at Bloor and Young P.O. We have a new address. It is on a card among the other address cards that John S has. Just marked Jerry L. It is possible he is in the phone book under Chow. At any rate it would be very good--it is even necessary that he translate some material for us. --for Pi-lan.

She will be sending over a copy. And there will be another article ready in a month from Peng--his contribution to the discussion on LS. As things now stand there is no way of their contributing in the discussion with out Jerry's aid. Pat M knows him well. At anyrate I leave it to you to get someone on this to whom Jerry will respond in a positive way. You don't need to tell him about the Peng article--just the Pi-lan one now. You should send me the post office box address so that when he agrees I could have Pi-lan write direct to him. But if I am not mistaken she agreed to send the copy of the article right away to 334 so you would have it in hand. If it does not come within a week we should proceed to make the connection without the article.

It would be good if you would send me the name and address of the German comrade who we recruited in Kitchener-Waterloo and who returned to Germany last year. He was a tall blond steelworker if you recall. I cannot remember either his first or last name. When I was here last he gave me a new address and I am sure that you will find it among the subscribers of LC.

I would appreciate it if you would also obtain me Lois Bedard's address. They have moved to a street called Emmett I think. This should at long last be on our contact list. Incidentally when I last spoke to her she told me she was not ~~making~~ getting anything. I think we fixed the contact list--but what about LC sub list.

A passing thought. I think that it was a mistake not to run one of the photos of the Red Europe conference with my article on the United States of Europe. It would tend to be interpreted here in Europe that we thought little of an action which they thought a great deal of. I think that it is important that in the next issue we carry Tabata's press release on the arrest of Unity movement people along with one of the photos we have of him--we took some when he spoke at our internal at 1 Cumberland. But perhaps there are others around.

I see Tony made the Black conference in Toronto. I never saw him although I probably got the brochure that I put on his desk in NY. I do not see that need to do anything as the YS or League but it would be very good if this Black movement sent a letter of protest against the arrests of the Unity Movement people, and even took some action at the SA trade commission. The Church is being taken over the coals too I see. It would be good if this new group took a SA solidarity action as soon as possible. What is Jose's status in this movement. If they cannot or will not do it what about Jose's university group. Of course Jose will agree but it will have to be followed through. The ~~press~~ British press has picked up the attacks on the Unity movement. It would be desirable that something come off and of course, desirable that it get some publicity--if only in our press.

Now that we have switched from that \$100 that the center took it upon itself to call dues to the statutory basis of 1/6 of our dues I think we should consider what we actually can pay into the center. I think that the next PC meeting should find our way clear to pay in say \$25 a month with the suggestion that we intend to find our way clear to paying more when it is possible. I think that we are hard put not to pay at least that amount.--which I think we can handle. Let me know your decision. I think we should

3.3.3.

act on this matter right away.

I assume that Coral is now sending the dues to Gisela on a regular monthly basis. Yes, Gisela told me she had made a mistake in saying that I had turned over only 300 and not what I said--\$400. She has probably told you this. I was in to see Peng last weekend and I gave them \$50 on our behalf. I think that I can handle that amount out of my pay so it is only a matter of noting that we have given them another 50 on the account. I would like to know how their account stands now. I take it that you have it recorded that I gave them \$100 when I was over here last October out of the money that the south loaned us.

How do we intend to handle the international appeal for funds for the Bengal affair? This is ~~Joe Hansen's~~ Joe Hansen's idea of how to handle money for international work. I think that I pointed out to you that the \$400 that we gave Gisela last fall in the belief that it was a general once a year project turned out on her books as a special campaign for Eastern Europe workers states work. Absurd. However I think we should make modest efforts to meet what apparently are going to be appeals from time to time. We can do this in I think relatively harmless effortless way. Why wouldn't we say for instance in this case have forums across the country on the Indian situation. It is now much in the news and we would get a good attendance. At these forums we could have a chairman or secondary speaker say a few words about the work of our Bengali comrades (there is a good view with one of the comrades in a recent Militant. --and take up a collection --not a big appeal. If only 20 or 30 dollars was raised it would be a good gesture. I think that this is the way we should handle this letter--send a letter to all branches to hold ~~the~~ one of their regular forums on India this month and take up a collection for the Bengali comrades. ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ If we agree on this we should get the letter out rightaway and get the money in and sent over here. I have got Gisela's agreement that we will handle this on a progress reporting basis so everyone can see who is in the International. If the Italian don't pay up shortly they are not good to be a qualified section...so the whole thing can have some benefit for the movement. And this is an effortless way for us to respond. Other campaigns depending on their significance we could handle by spreading specific people who we know and who might be interested and thereby taking the heat off the movement as such. Let me know what you think of this

I haven't read the last issue of the paper yet nor the minutes and correspondence that you have sent--but if I close off now I think I will still make the mail

comradely

Ross

missed the mail so I came home, had supper, read the latest issue of Labor challenge and all the PC correspondence. And here goes;

A very good issue. The Laxer interview is a real scoop. Sometime you should tell me how we got it--how John did. How we opened Laxer up to it in the light of past experiences our NDP comrades have been having in the Waffle both in Toronto and Edmonton. He answers well. A little bull-shit around the matter of union influence but other wise very good. What did he have to say about our press and our movement--I would be interested in knowing--and what repercussions did the publication have in Waffle circles. The front page is also excellent--I feel embarrassed about objecting to Quebec Left "Recovers" Liz Angus' article on the abortion action is positively ~~xxxxx~~ rhapsodic. One more thing on the Laxer interview. Now that we have broken some ice why not take a try at some other interviews. Say that fellow who is heading the Johnson, Matthey allory strike--I see he didn't speak at the forum though--but perhaps Sloan would be as good. We could try to think of some others we could interview. Healy's press has been having interviews with some of England's top trade union brass.

There is really only one article that I question. And incidently why didn't we present it as a guest contribution in order to protect his job, his NDP status etc. I think we should have had a discussion on the PC about the Acadian question. Not so much that I question Terry's line and I do, but primarily because I know little or nothing about this question. In what sense is ~~there~~ a feeling of national identity--noting that the past secretary of the National Society of Acadians (I do not know the significance of this organization) and Robichaud are designated as sell-outs in the article. Do they have any identity as a peoples with the Quebec struggle or have they been stimulated by it? What substantial evidence do we have of a sense of national identity in recent times. I know in a rough way the ~~history~~ history of their treatment by the British. Terry goes pretty strong in the paragraph at the top of the this column--but weak on evidence. When I first read it I was so ewhat stopped by a section in the second column--second sentence under the subhead. "The weakness is that it cannot lead to much higher wages since the profits..." I put a circle around profits and scrubbed "since the decision to locate there ~~where~~ somewhat removed from the main market areas is based to some considerable degree that it will be more profitable because of its being a lower wage area." A better formulation because otherwise you have Terry enunciating some iron rule of wages--you just cant get decent ones cause the bosses wont and cant pay tem --just what he ridicules in the next column when reporting on the St John building trades no strike pledge. There are several others small points--I dont tjink that this is the first time that the NDP elected an MLA in NS--at least NDP-CCF--cant ignore the CCF--after all there has only been perhaps two elections since the NDP took over from the CCF. I think that it is necessary to open up a bit of a discussion in the movement on the Acadians--before some comrades consider Terry's position to be our position...which I question. Dont know anything but what I read in LC but question that the Kitchener article should be so hard on the union officials--perhaps it was necessary to take the worers back in such a situation on the basis of no reprisals. --from here it looks to me that it may well have been the union that took recourse to wildcat--even lead it to stop a union busting assault. But I dont know--only question and I think you should to Kitchener. It was good to see that the Militant improved on our report on the dropping of the charges against Mahon and others--they had us protesting the military occupation of Quebec--LC had us flaunting an outdated electoral law. How did this happen. I see on page three bottom article Dick is carrying that line--war measures act to block upsurge--slightly modified

to read "development of any organized movement in support of the FLO demands." I think that it was bolster Bourassa and his gang who saw that what happening to Laporte could happen to us--Trudeau moved in to stop this. Of course Dick's new formulation is better and perhaps almost correct but I do not know of any substantial evidence that an organized movement was developing. Good to see he writes--"a second more fundamental purpose----" I would question the adjective ; "the development of Massive political opposition to the trials..." The opposition is developing but I would like to hear now that they have been released what kind of response they have had with mass meetings. I would think we should discuss Dick's other statement "The bourgeoisie's unanimity suggests a highly developed consensus that the repression of Quebec is the price of continued capitalist rule in Canada." I think in my last letter I mentioned some comments on this question I made at the McGill meeting. We should discuss this sometime. I think that Trudeau and Marchand reaction is not the considered opinion of the Canadian bourgeoisie or consensus. They don't want to give anything but can I think give plenty--the dynamics of the process is their worry. Should we on y r page 6 article on the 9 cities call the refusing hospitals "French language" Wouldn't it better be Catholic church dominated? Good to see the Quebec NDP convention note--could be added that the mood behind giving way to the PQ is one of profound defeat in the old NDP circles. The 10 votes are a bit of a disappointment--so it is an exhausted almost completely exhausted operation. Hope you get the contact box the next issue Did Art or Montreal generally say anything about the last article on the Quebec NDP Raffle etc etc. Disappointing to see Jose not on the temporary steering committee of the National Black Action Committee. I would be interested in hearing what the comrades think the future holds for this movement. And how was the Malcolm X meeting that evening. What does Jose have to say. I see everything is clearing for 24 April to be the day. Incidentally I hope we can give some attention to Jose. You know the paper has never come out--even the quarterly basis as we had agreed. He can be very important to us but you have to hold onto him. Have you thought to phone Art to have a bit of a talk with him--about the personal problems we know of. A valuable man and feels isolated in the movement.

I see from all that correspondence going out to the branches that we have not yet fixed that typewriter which puts up the quotation marks. I gather from that that Coral hasn't had our new typewriter fixed--the one and some other letter. Can we help her solve this--looks of repair guys in the phone book I would think. Worth having a visit with three on the hummer Re-Feb 14 PC enlarged minutes. Colleen has the Quebec defence decision wrong. Dick has it right in last Paragraph page one of his letter--it should be corrected. We should also send out the final oked version of the national committee constitution. I would like a copy to show Ernest. Only one thing wrong. I don't like the letter on the Commission of Enquiry. What has happened to Pierre Berton, to the Law Union and what Leo Johnson was going to do for us. Did it all peter out--or has Helmut tossed the whole thing on the League. If that was so--all petered out I would have rethought the whole idea. The last paragraph page 2 "It is not proposed here that KW will remain the center of the commission." But that is just what I would have proposed. There has to be a center and a central commission to carry a thing like this. The Toronto sponsor standing out in isolation Gus--is absurd. We have to treat Gus better. I hope that it is just a lack of information on my part. I hope that we can center it in on KW and a strong commission composed of the Law Union, Berton and others like him. I am somewhat sceptical otherwise. I hope we can have a real re-think of this if I read this letter send out over the address of KW LSA for some strange reason correctly. And now it is midnight and I have several other matters--will write again shortly at length.

Ross

Bruxelles
March 11, 1971

Alena
Philippines

Dear Comrades John and Eddie;

I received your letter without date, sent to Toronto over here in Bruxelles where I will be for several months, just a couple of days ago. I was all the more happy to receive it and the information that it contains as I was on the verge of taking the initiative to write you

A short while back we received a whole batch of material that you had sent over. In thinking over how we should handle this material I had concluded that we should ~~write~~ put it aside temporarily and write you. For a while I was thinking that maybe we should cull out the material from the two or three dailies you sent on the campus struggle and present the bare facts in a short article for Intercontinental ---but then a couple of nights ago I finally got around to reading the February 15th issue and I see that it just what they did in a short article on the back of the front cover.

Now that I am in receipt of your letter I am very glad that we did not take it upon ourselves to write anything ---all the more that it is now obvious that an evaluation of recent developments has considerable to do with the developments in SKS

I see from your letter that you John are preparing to write a personal letter to all the SKSers with regards to their decision on National Democracy. An excellent idea. If you have already done this we would very much like a copy of it. I am hoping that it is written in such a way that it is not ~~too~~ so specifically addressed to SKSers that it is almost unintelligible to others. At anyrate it might be good to add some paranthetical material so that ~~it~~ the political issues at dispute and your viewpoint is lucidly clear to anyone.

What we need now it seems to me is some very clearly written material that defines our viewpoint on the broad lines of the struggle in the Philippines and defines our tendency, the Fourth International tendency and its relationship to all other tendencies on the left. The SKS experience can be put to good use by us in thinking out this whole matter. You need such material right now in order to try to influence the SKSers' and you need it in general in order to work effectively in the mass movement, to explain to the more class conscious elements what we are trying to do in the mass movement so that we can go about the process of ~~sketching~~ pulling together some cadre

At this stage this need not be a long or involved, heavily documented closely reasoned statement. It should be clear, basic and simple. You should work it out together in closest collaboration. As we go along we can lay the basis for refining it, correcting it, amplifying it.

Then I think that you should set yourselves to work on writing up material on a regular basis on key questions of the struggle there. They could be typed on stencil and mimeographed in a modest number of copies--just sufficient in number that you can use, pass on among better elements that you come across. These of course would be immediately valuable to help us gather cadre, but they would also be valuable as part of a process

towards developing a rounded Trotskyist program for the Philippine revolution. Some of this material could well be published in Untercontinental Press. And it would be very helpful towards permitting the international leadership participate in the process of working out the Philippine program.

What it seems to me we are moving towards is the publication of a press of sorts. This is the first task of all revolutionists. For a period you can satisfy yourself with circulating the Militant and books and pamphlets dealing with the broad problems of the world struggle--but sooner or later all revolutionists have to get down to the task of putting out a press of their own which applies and at the same fructifies the world program. It seems obvious that at this stage we are in no position to publish a paper even on an irregular basis but we should start to move in this direction by working out and putting down some of our thoughts for circulation amongst promising elements.

I must apologize John for not having yet found time to take up the lengthy documents that you forwarded to me when I was last over here in Europe. When I returned I was extremely busy up until I left again. I have written John Steele asking him to send it over to me here so that I can read it over and open up a discussion on it with you.

Since your letter first went to Canada I take it for granted that John S read it and noted that this fellow Ramirez will be coming around to see him. I will remind him in a note shortly

I will write you again shortly.

fraternally

Ross D

Bruxxelles
March 11, 1972

Toronto

Dear John; *R.*

Wayne R

It was good to get your letter the other day dated March 3 and arriving just after I had sent another letter off noting that I had received no correspondence other than a letter from Jacquie and a batch of the PC-NC material--on March 8

Received the Militant and Intercontinental on Monday and was suprised that none of my material made it--at least the first major article on the British union struggles. Probably they will have to rewrite that with the later one if they are going to use this material. I would suppose we would telescope them----rewrite them. I have a book review of interest that I have only to drastically condense and type up and this weekend I would think I should write another article on Britain--big things there. Of course my articles are written you might say outside of the stream. There is no labor press coming through because of the postal strike(over this Monday) The comrades brought over the Mole but it is out of it. So I am dependant on The Guardian and The Times. I have just searched through a shelf of material to see if I can find a copy of an IMG leaflet--cant find it but suprised to find some other material that I ~~was~~ was not shown--but I see it is too weighty to mail you.

Perhaps it is just as well that I am dependant on this type of material--there is merit in ICP articles coming from someone here when we have people there--being a bit detached from the struggle --but who knows who they will be taking on.

As you know the mail strike has held up everything from Britain--including the material I sent long ago which I need to start writing with. I hope that this stuff will be in towards the end of next week so that Connie and Al can bring it over when they come here. Of course I do have some materials. I am now half way through Radical Politics and Canadian Labour. by Robin *matfews?*

Now I see why Wayne was so contemptuous of this book. I am now getting into sections where the author is showing his bias. Sad but he is nothing but a parliamentary social democrat--and imagine not only does he not understand the importance of the revolutionary socialist currents ~~which~~ which cause him among other things to telescope the unification of revolutionists in Canada and the founding of the CP into a couple of paragraphs---but even worse he had compounded confusion on confusion by depending on RCMP files as his source. Hence Wayne's tendency to dismiss this book. He is wrong though. The book is a store house of facts--a tremendous amount of research on a whole period that is key and has never been written up before. A really valuable book despite its grave weaknesses. You might tell Wayne and Jeff since he is pushing the book in the store of my now more valid opinion.

I am sending back to you in this letter 1--the material on my income tax. I have no material here to work with on this. Coral has everything but Joan has to be brought into this picture too because of a previous confusion with the department. I hope that Joan and Coral can work this all out and file everything on my behalf. 2- the other card on my hospital insurance should be put away in a file of things that I should pick up on my return. I have kept one card for identification. I assume that Coral has sent the necessary funds.

• so that this hospital insurance is completely valid. I think that it is important that I should have such coverage when I am over here--and it is important that it be completely valid for if I do have a claim I am already violating the contract by not having some kind of special permit covering me outside the country. But if everything else was ok I don't see what they could do about this. Would you check this payment out as I filed everything as they instructed with no payment of any kind while I was there.

Good to hear that Sheila and Kevin are off--particularly in that Sheila herself thinks that it is a big step forward for her recovery. We have a good operation in Saskatoon and she can move in there at any pace suitable to her. I am wondering if you should not send a note out to Kathy filing her in--she is the organizer. Sheila does not particularly reveal any trouble and it is possible that with her arrival and her abilities in Women's Lib particularly--and they have big challenges there---she might be swept in and over her head. Sheila will probably respond just as she did with the bookstore challenge--but you were here to take her out--I don't know who would out there unless it was her mother.

There are a couple of matters that I should put down right now before I forget.

1--When I was in Montreal last I met a very new recruit of ours who can be very valuable. Possibly since you were at the YS-LJS convention you will remember him--a tall blond haired blond berbed fellow. He is an American draft evader. He is on campus. I think at Sir George but I am not sure. The point is that he is a big wheel in the anti-pollution movement. He has some official capacity ~~xxxx~~ in an outfit that has dough and has possibilities of doing things. I was not aware of this until it was rather late in my stay so I did not have a real opportunity to talk with him --had a bit of discussion more along the line of giving him a feeling that we considered this a most important area for political work. I gather he has had the feeling that it may not be too important--probably more though that he and we have not worked out how to use it. We have seriously neglected this area. Pollution probe has or did have groups in all the high schools in Toronto. Last summer they had a project for highschoolers up at Algonquin Park and at the last moment when I had heard of it I convinced one of our youth to go up. But he was an older youth and my impression did not know how to move in and around. We have contented ourselves with one or two articles in the paper. Even on this level we can do better--and I am sure he has all kinds of material that would be useful for both our Canadian and US press. But we should go much farther than this. We should think in terms of useful actions that we could initiate, participate in that would put us into contact with many who are beginning to radicalize on this matter. Why don't we move immediately to do something with this comrade. Perhaps a good way would be to invite him down to speak at a forum. He is a bit of a somebody ~~xxxx~~ officer of some kind in this movement and I am sure he could give a worthwhile forum. We need an opportunity to talk with him in some detail. He would probably jump at the chance to come down to Toronto just for a talk. We should of course think this whole matter over. But we should move---I think that it is a real issue amongst the youth

2--I hope we are managing to keep in touch with Orillia. We have some valuable comrades up there but unfortunately it would be all too easy to lose them. I managed to establish a bit of a working relationship with the,

Pat Schulz

It sort of boiled down to me when Pat S could work it and then Richmond Hill strated to develop in a bigger way on its own. I had hoped to get up to every other meeting of theirs if at all possible. We have to line up educationals for them-- help them give them and give them ourselves. It is not at all excluded that one of the youth leaders could play an important role in this. They should be servicing Orillia--they have some first rate contact and in fact the daughter of the comrades there I think is very good. Hope you can move in here if you are not already doing so.

And what about Ottawa. We have a terrible tendency of letting things drift. Sometimes this works out very well--things work themselves out. But I am afraid that our problem is of a different type up there. I have spoken to other comrades about this. It should come up on the PC and there should be no need for me to go into the matter in this letter.

A little item for good public relations. By the way--did Brian get the transfer to Edmonton. Very important that we keep in touch with Bill on his trade union work. I do not know whether he gets Intercontinental Press but even if he did he might not have noticed that there is an article from a Japanese comrade which deals almost entirely with the post office union situation in Tokyo. Bill will find it quite interesting--and in fact it might be worthwhile his using a bit of it in his union paper. Now that I think of it I should have sent you stuff on the British postal workers strike specifically for him. Unfortunately I only came in here at the tail end of things--cant supply him with much on the whole earlier stage of the struggle. ...only the settlement which of course was a very bad one. As a matter of fact it could all blow up again. If it does I will make a point of sending you some special

material for him. The article was in March 8 issue of Intercontinental.

I am glad that you thought to send the letter from John Glenn over here. Is that all he sent. I suppose you noticed that it had no date place of origin etc on it. It came just in time and as it so happened affirmed all my arguments with Ernest as to how we should operate here. When I arrived he almost immediately thrust into my hand a big folder of material that had arrived from that fellow Eddie that John G wrote his letter with. I must immediately go through this and write up an article for ICP. I protested ~~and~~ that this was a big responsibility that we should assume here (the material was an assortment of three daily papers covering a recent student struggle --business publications, some Maoist papers --and nothing at all from our own comrades as to their opinion of any of this. I procrastinated--told him that I am sure that the ICP has connections with the Philippine movement there, that there are papers there put out by various currents whose line we can evaluate and ICP if it is not already doing this should do this on its own. I wrote Joe. Ernest continues to pressure. Finally I got down to look through the material and so I told him that there was no article that a serious international leadership would write up from this pile other than to perhaps present a few of the apparent facts from the bourgeois press. And I did not see why we even had to do this--that it really didn't matter if we covered it this way or not..that we can't be what we are not. Rather we should use the occasion to write the comrades and encourage them to write up something and in this way start the process of hammering out a beginnings of a program for the Philippines. No sooner had I said all this than John's letter comes in completely affirming the correctness of my opinion. It is obvious from that letter that it would be wrong for us to comment on the recent events there as they were the basis for the split in the group that we were working in.

I haven't written the type of letter that I wanted to in the first place which should encourage the comrades to start writing their opinions on the spot and lay the basis for a regular analysis of developments there in the form of articles that we could study and advise them on--leading to the publication of a paper in the long run. I am looking forward to showing this to Ernest at tomorrow's bureau meeting.

But you won't forget to alert Joan, John, Joe--the staff comrades about the coming arrival of this fellow Ramirez from the Philippines. Of course he is not one of us but it would be worthwhile to put ourselves out a bit and to try to give him an essential feeling of the theory of the permanent revolution, the role of the native bourgeois in such country's as the Philippines ~~and~~ the bankruptcy of any concept of bourgeois (native) progressivism and the immediacy of the socialist revolution.

tour

Yes, the Chartrand can be the biggest thing we have ever carried off. Should really do a great deal for the Quebecois cause and be very helpful for an ever increasing integration of our Quebec forces in the independentist circles. I hope we are really thinking big in Toronto. I have been waiting for us to move into Massey Hall. This should do it.

I see you are tending to think in the same conservative way that I reacted with regards to Vern. I think that we should encourage Vern to do it now. We need him now. ~~What is the problem?~~ How important is this pension problem. Five years is a long time in this period of our movement. How is your pension and Dicks and Jogs and Jacques. Vern wants to do it and he is absolutely right in this. I reacted badly when he first posed it to me--it caught me off guard. But now that you take time to think about it. Here is a comrade who can now come into the operation full time--and we need him now--right now in the worst way. Of course we would lose his pledge, important--but Vern working full time is worth a lot more than his pledge. I would think that we would very quickly tie down several more contacts who would more than make up his pledge. Vern has that right to work for the movement. He is a hell of a lot closer than any of you to his government pension. Hundreds of thousands of workers are living on this---I suppose ~~one of us~~ one of us could manage to make a go on it. I am all for us taking him aside and telling him that we want him to make the move now. I say take him aside because there is the viewpoint of Anne who I think takes our conservative viewpoint and he should settle this out--take a stab at it first--then of course we should come in right behind him in front of Anne--bring out her best points too. I think what we must do is very clear--and if for some reason you do not agree I would like you to write me to this effect--for I will write Vern personally.

Glad also to get Dora's material. In my opinion we should have published the Tabata appeal right away and not waited for the ICP to act. But I think I must have already given you this opinion--I seem to recall writing about getting hold of some photos of Tabata that I thought we had around. I do not understand why Joyce should suggest we not publish. Of course we were questioning just whether anything was left of this movement. However perhaps history has solved this matter. At the meeting that I attended in London Tabata was stumped to say what the movement was doing now. Well now we have some martyrs--real living victims of the SA regime. Who is actually doing anything in SA. At any rate that is what other operations have--martyrs and so we have too. We must give a big play to this development in my opinion.

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it is ~~only that don't suggest that a Reginald should do something with Women's Libe~~
ation

I think that I also said something about how we should handle the Bengal appeal in a pervious letter. ~~Thz~~I suggested that we hold forums in several places on the Indian elections and make a collection appeal ~~xxxxxxx~~ through a short supplementary speech on our work in Bengal. That may well raise about \$60 which would be very good. In general I think that is how we should meet these types of appeal. We can get money for them that normally we cannot get anyway. In some cases we might consider even aporoaching special people who we are trying to get into the giving habit ~~fxrto~~ us directly who might be interested in a special project. I think that this Begal appeal is the beginning of a central view of international funds --it together with our decision to go to dues.

Very anxious to hear what we did about the Prague trial. Everyday now the Guardian and the Monde carry something on it. In fact a recent item mentions that the authorities are disturbed by protests that have been carried on in various parts of the world. The past and next week are somewhat key from the point of view of impact. The improsoned hear about these actions you can be sure. I hope you considered the Ottawa suggestion or perhaps some thing even more dramatic. It is possible that it is getting tought to get near a Czech Embassy. But it is difficult for them to stop a lighting action.

Incidently if you decided to say start sending over \$25 to the international it would be good if you sent it to Giseal right away so that she had it for her financial report at the coming U.S. meeting.---right away would make it.

Good to hear that money came in from Brandon. I cant recall what the airfare to Winnipeg --Brandon--and back was. How much did they send as honorarium? Is \$200 what we expected--seems a little small. They were going to cover airfare, honorarium which was going to be larger because I not only spoke but appeared on a panel. And if I am not mistaken Penny agreed to send her honorarium to the center. The main thing is --did she get here. You might write her

Will take up the question of delegates to the WC later. I wasn't here when this was all discussed --Joe was--and he will probably be here next week.

Pat J and company are really moving in on the tendency--on the women's liberation area. Laying the law down--would seem obvious to me trying to provoke some more incidents--possibly a split or rupture in the monirty itself. Nottingham came out with an issue SW--and suddenly London comes out with one same name etc . Nottingham ordered to dump theres and do many other outrageous things. And to make thinbs a little more difficult the IMG conference has been postponed again--until June.

Now going into 6 pages--too much . Will write later

comradely Ross

There is always a danger that comrades who have been in the movement for some period, particularly in a period of profound pacifity of the class, will come to think that they are the only revolutionists, real revolutionists, but strange to say there are an increasing number prepared to make the decisions about their lives that the old times did & we should encourage them by more than our previous example x

March 11, 1971

Montreal
Dear Manon;

(Ms. Manon Leger, Mtl)

I raised the matter of your coming over to Europe for your this year holiday in a previous note. Not only would it be good to attend the French congress which is April 10-11-12--but the Belgian congress is April 24-25 and then there is the great commemorative celebrations of the Paris Commune on May 15th. Of course Europe at that time of the year is at its greatest beauty. The comrades will put you up for the LC congress, you can find excellent facilities absolutely free any time you are in Brussels, so it would be a most pleasant and besides educational holiday

Opportunities don't come like this everyday. ..so think it over and let me know as soon as possible. I think I told Art how cheap Iceland is

fraternally

Ross

March 13, 1971

Toronto
Dear John

R

I am picking this letter up today but will not finish it and send it one until after Monday's mail.

But another idea on Czechoslovakia. I wonder what you think of the possibility of approaching some of the dissident GPs in the Toronto area to ~~of protesting~~ the political trials---the Clarke's, the Ryersons. I would say Boyd but he appears to have pulled completely out of politics and probably would understand that as bringing him back in--we should dispose not of him --we should challenge him. But the others who are still active in political life made this their standing ground. You could even take that appeal around to them to get them to endorse it. When I saw it it was so narrow in its appeal that I didn't think we could take it anywhere³ but now thinking it over why wouldn't it be a good idea to approach them on it. We have nothing to lose--I think there is some possibility that they might endorse it. The baiss of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ releasing the news to the press would be that they for what they are know as, have joined in the demand supported by Sartre and others. The trials are still going on and now they are getting wider publicity. An eminent lawyer associated with the Belgian Doits des hommes has recently protested that the Czech government refused him permission to attend the trials. It appears that the sessions were closed the other day because the court said that many Trotskyists from other countries were attending and making known their sympathy for the defendants--Slansky's son was barred from admission --apparently he has expressed sympathy. I am all for one of us going to see these people just to try and make contact with them on a serious political basis. It would be good if we could get Ryerson sometime to speak on some aspect of Canadian history at a forum.

The morning mail of March 15 included the envelope of ~~xxxx~~ air printed matter. I was particularly glad to get the International Discussion bulletin the article from Queen's Quarterly, the old Vanguard and of course the various peices of material that show what we are doing these days

But to get to your letter of a few days back

I think that since you wrote your opening paragraph that you have received my comments on the March issue of LC, and since the last paragraph you would have received my second article on Britain. I do not think we should put a London date-line first because I am not there and do not have access to such London material at the Tribune, The Morning Star, The state cap paper, Healy nor consultation with our British comrades--and that may well show and we need the escape route. No purpose in putting Brussels--why not just put in a note that I am in Europe. This gives us all kinds of excuses --the Begian and French papers are weeklies and I have no contact with them anyway except receiving a copy.

I intend to send you some more ~~more~~ material Tuesday or Wednesday because after that I will be tied down with the U.S. meeting, Connie and Al and either Joe or Barry. I thought that the Saskatoon talk turned out not too badly also. Although it is unfortunate that I did not have the time to write it up that way for delivery.

The pool hall I am all for working out an arrangement that will carry u over the next ~~2~~ 1/2 year. That is a particularly harsh demand that he is making--not rent for three months. ~~xxx~~ unacceptable...we cannot afford it.

First the bad months are July and August--and those are the only two we should consider--not a third. Dont be too soft about that air conditioning stuff etc. He knew all that when he came in. He had ~~the~~ the previous tenants experience too behind him. We have played ball--did the carpentry he asked, new soft drink cooler and he really doesn't do any maintenance at all which is one of his problems. (I hope that Aikenheads have finally got that door for us and George has installed it)

I think there are two things we should do;

We do not care whether the pool hall is open or not in the summer --let us agree to giving him one months rent free and he can decide whether he wants to close or open--that is --we agree to split with him the worst part of the seasons costs. 50 / 50 ^{a 9%} discount--for this year only ^{no other}

The other thing we should do is call that previous tenant down to have a talk. We have him tied on the lease ~~for many months~~. He has an interest in seeing Angle make a go of it. This fellow will know how to kill ~~the~~ what you describe as a Sally Ann atmosphere which Angel has allowed to develop and which there is no doubt in my mind stops many people from using the tables. We should tell Angel that. I wouldn't go up there for a game with all those lumpens hanging around. Ananassoff never had them. ~~It~~ It is not our task but Ananassoff would show him how to deal with this problem quickly. I think that that is a good proposition. By the way dont let him think that that lease is not binding in anyway. If he thinks that then there is nothing to stop him just walking out and away say May 31. He signed the lease and it is a good proposition. The merit of bringing up the nature of the crowd etc is to show him that he hasn't got what there is in it which I think is essentially true.

Let's get through this year---then yes -we should seriously consider selling all the tables and turning the space over to office--much of which we would want--and I feel sure will be able to afford.

Incidently look up the lease information on the drug store. Hedonot think we ever got a copy of that lease but the tenant showed me once and I took note of it and gave the information to either Helen or Coral. If it is this year we want him out. ---or want to jump the rent considerably. Dont let this slide----let's find out when it expires so we know what we are doing.

Money- Did you talk to Harry about the press. It is probable that he has still done nothing although I raised a little hell with him about it before leaving. We want him to put an ad in to see what we can get for the big press. I cannot see us hanging on to it when we dont have a good small press and we are so hard up for funds. He must do this for us right away. It is a very simple matter..all he has to do is pick up a phone and give them the necessary copy. Coral can handle all enquiries. Harry should look up the back issues of this magazine and see what this type of press is selling for. We paid something over \$6,000. I cannot imagine depreciation is much. Of course we have to know what they are generally selling for at once so we can work out an asking price. This is not hard to find out---Harry can phone around as if he was in the market for one. A while back he rhymed off something like \$2,500 but in my opinion he has no basis at all for that. I would think that it would get \$4,000. Why would depreciation be so high--after all we bought it second hand and it is in good shape. We want cash on the line. Let us move on that.

I have taken note of the information on Peng. Do not worry about sending him any more money. I will handle that from out of my pay as long as I am here.

I see in one of your run downs of debts we have outstanding Dick F's name appears and I think you also have the YS. But if I am not mistaken that is what we took out the loan from Stu to cover. I seem to recall quite clearly that we paid Dick F off and also the YS CO. As for John and Colleen's debt. I took it for granted that we had a sheet of all those debts made out in our books. But now that I think of it it may well be that that debt appears in the headquarters account. For instance as you know we borrowed a substantial sum of money from Vern at a critical turning point --that amount was agreed by Regual and all would be recognized ~~there~~ as an investment in the building which either she or Hans would pay off (and get credit for from Mrs M) as soon as they accumulated some dough. I think Hans was going to do that as soon as he got a job--which he has since worked for some while now. If I am not mistaken the money we owe John and Colleen was borrowed at about the same time for the same purpose. I feel quite confident that Helen would know all about this--Helen Olson. But now I see you do have the record so all the above speculation is out. Yes, check that amount with John and Colleen again. Whatever the amount was we borrowed we had to pay back a slab on. They both went to Cuba and we had to give them back ~~the money~~ part of the money to allow them to do so. Our records should be clear--with that little reminder--I do not see where there would be any confusion or argument.

I don't know about this proposition of theirs about a mimeograph machine but I don't see why the center should have anything to do with it. Montreal has an operation--perhaps it has a fund drive for money for this purpose and J and C wish to make a heavy contribution--that is their privilege. I hope that we can give them the money right away without too much trouble---and Dick ~~and~~ P's too. That was the terms that we borrowed on. That is why I am raising the idea again that we should move on the press. That may solve the immediate problem.

I see I am too late to make any sensible contribution to the debate on the fund drive--the circular arrived this morning. Somewhat alarmed by the fact that the youth and league drive is taking place at the same time however I guess the arguments must have been substantial.

I note George's comments on raising money. Yes I can think of a few occasions that we have not picked up money that we could have. ~~For instance~~ And I have been one of the problems in this respect. For instance I feel certain that if I had pushed ever so little we would have that money that John and Colleen loaned us completely in our operation as a gift. Then there is another occasion--if I had pushed a little again with George B instead of all that money being invested in tool and the van and keeping George in that ridiculous adventure along with Harry --they are going to lose everything I feel quite sure--we would have had a couple of thousand there. I think we have to change the atmosphere around us with regards to that type of money--I don't doubt we are in some way responsible for the situation where Pam and Darrell are buying a house--they are such young people and to my knowledge have no family ideas. I am going to change my ways but I'm not there--so others can change the atmosphere.

I don't know that we have that real possibility that George talks about but obviously there is some from the two cases I mention above. You mention Karen and her family--there is also the Jones (Sheila) Terry told me his old man was a Sarnia worker and Liz is cut off I understand. But the other

two--it is a matter of some older and maturer comrade when next in Saskatoon having a talk with these people--I had hoped to see both Karen and Sheila's mothers but had no time last trip. Why doesn't John Steele make a tour of the country before the summer is gone--and make time for that Saskatoon project. Probably John can go student fare, he would probably like to see Sheila and Kevin--and we could probably hold enough meetings on say trade union developments to cover cost alright.

But it is also a matter of creating an atmosphere around the movement about money.....one that is not so grim, as is usual around us--but rather is buoyant, confident in the future--you know--while we are in the present --the present too not just the future is ours. I think one of the problems is that we are not recruiting enough, not open enough. And I don't mean that from the point of view of getting more people who will pay dues and pledges which of course is needed. But we don't have an atmosphere around us of growth of bringing them in--we are going places--NOW. I think that is true in the league and it is even more true on the youth. It is horribly obviously true in Montreal where it is obvious to me if we can break out of the awful routinism with the aid of Alan and Manon we could be three and four times as big as we are.

I have raised this matter earlier in a personal letter to Jacquie. I even suggested that the youth should have a membership drive on a campaign basis. The Toronto branch and probably the entire League has to be really shaken. Brian B's handling of the sub drive was in my opinion just what should be the norm--but you recall all the aches and groans it got Brian's conduct at York (as distinct from our work at U of T) should also be the norm. I hope our financial drive handler is Brian or a very good substitute for him. I am all for Brian's style and think we should bring him into our leading ~~max~~ and public bodies to generate this style right through the movement.

The Toronto youth situation when you think of it is or should I say was--very poor. I am hoping that the restructuring of the central leadership has done much to change things in Toronto. For instance why were we so long and so hesitant about bringing a guy like Don T right into the thick of things much more quickly. Most of our youth leaders are too old ~~in the~~ too long in the saddle. We don't have enough Jacques and Carol's. Some of the rest we have to graduate quickly into the League to keep the youth continually open and moving--so youth will come into ~~the~~ movement that they can immediately identify as theirs where they can be leaders.

This would do something for us financially I am sure. People would automatically come to us with inheritances, windfalls of various types. We would also have to find ways of publicizing that we expect such things to in order to get them. Well right now we have a financial drive on. We can really try all these things--new atmosphere, even suggest that we expect some real windfalls etc etc. I hope we can really handle this drive in the way it should be handled. Don't forget the muck up on the last Soldairt Drive. very illuminating eh what.

This drive should really be a big experience for the movement. And it must be given top notch care. Then I think we could well discuss the question of a drive to found a theoretical journal. But I don't think we should get involved in that until we have the drive really under our belt. Who is handling it?

I would be interested to hear about NY--of course they have a real break from US tax laws. I understand that many parents put up to 2 and 3 000 dollars a year away for their child--can do so tax free--the money is the child's at

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18 or is it 21. So we recruit groups of youth whose parents were in that income category and who fall heir to these considerable sums just as they come around us. I had a bit of a talk with George N when there. It was apparent to me that our dear comrade Harry P has been saying all kinds of things about our operation

Re the proposition as to handling the fund drive in the press---with recognition that the key place of handling it and assuring its success is on the branch floors, in the league. ..has there been any talk about banquets, special meetings on the press, special ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ socialis with skits, tableau 's etc.

Idea one--naturally. Idea two yes but they should be very short and to the point--that item in a recent Militant showing how the US state department gives aid on the basis you buy arms contrasted to one of those traditional aid speeches by bouregois would be good. I dont see why idea three and four and the next paragraph couldn't be one. A 1921 edition of the paper as part of an insert seems a good idea---I dont think many would care for it as a poster. However.

I am not at all sure about all this protest over Progress Books. Possibly they actually are phasing out this operation. What about Bookworld --perhaps they will handle orders at a smaller discount. ..which would still be ok with us. What are the comrades doing in Montreal. There used to be a guy who handled all Soviet publications ..had a big warehouse. ~~we~~ one of our tours once made a deal with him which was very good. How did Jeff enquiries work out with International and with Moscow.

Hope Dick is alright. It ought the leaflet was good. Yes, we should report this in the paper. Suprised we didn't do it at the time--I see it happened on Feb 24. I hope Dick left them a few scars. I dont see that there is much of a basis for a campaign but we should publicize it. What have they said. I assume we have made an official protest to them. I would like to know what they say as a movement--if only through the mouth of one of their top "reponsible" leaders.

I have not written anything about the future plans --my staying--you and Naomi. I will do so right after this weekend

A few other matters---but I want to get this to the post office before it closes.

warmest regards

Ross

Toronto

Dowson (sister) older
Bedard (sister) youngest

March 13, 1971

R. Dowson c/o Barry Sheppard
225 Ave Paul Deschanel
1030 Bruxelles, Belgium

Dear Ruth and Lois;

Yes, that sounds like an excellent idea--sending me the weekend Globe and Mail. I think the only Canadian news I have read since I have been here is ~~the~~ about Trudeau's marriage and the big snow storm in Montreal which no doubt encompassed Toronto. And I am reading more newspapers than I have for a long time. For this weekend I bought; The Guardian, The Times, The Economist, the New Statesman, Le Monde and Ce Soir---at very great expense.

Of course I am reading Labor Challenge and The Young Socialist but they are highly selective--and how can I form an opinion as to their selection if I don't get something else from Canada. Yes I guess the G and M weekend edition is best--~~but~~ after you read it. Toss out the TV ~~mag~~ mag, the classified ads, and send it air printed matter. I don't think it will cost so much--at any rate you can take it out of my inheritance.

Yes, Ruth, your holiday to Greece. So I have put your dates on my calendar pad. I have nothing down for the London April 30 - May 1, 2 weekend and also nothing down for the May 25-28 period. Although I have to be in ~~Paris~~ Brussels over the 22 and 23rd of May. Have you been in Brussels?--been long enough there to get around and see things--to Ghent etc. It is an interesting city and one of its prime merits is that I have a three bedroom apartment on one of its poshest residential streets only 10 or so minutes from La Grande Place. For instance we could rent a car and go about a bit through the Belgian countryside which from the train last time on my way to the coast for Britain looks very very interesting. I would imagine that it is not the slightest bit of trouble for the air company to switch your flight from Paris to Brussels---The air port here is a large one with ~~which~~ direct flights to Toronto--no doubt it is on the Toronto - Athens circuit. That would seem to me to be perhaps the most interesting arrangement. . Then too of course I could arrange to go to Paris over that May 25-28 period although I will have been there for an appointment over the 15th and 16th ---but no trouble. Then too I could easily arrange to go to London--I haven't been over yet--this trip and I certainly intend to go over. Alan and Connie are coming over here next weekend....probably the coast is about the same and not very much--about \$15. So why don't you write again shortly about this and let me know what you find more interesting.

Have I had storms. No but it has been damn cold--for some reason I have been anticipating Spring but it has been the coldest here for some 50 years. When I say cold I mean freezing and just below freezing. And that is cold as there is no central heating in the apartment. It is heated by a glorified Quebec heater which heats up a system with rads in each room. It is so much trouble that I find it hardly worthwhile. The whole set up here is against liberation from housework-- meaning in our times liberation of women. There is no room for the storage of any amount of coal--not just in our apartment but everyone's home around here. You see people carrying home these stupid bags of coal and kindling. That how people are forced to buy coal--bags of about 20 pounds. If you kept the stove going 24 hours a day I am sure that it would take about 2 bags for that period--with constant attendance. Then there is a great multiplicity of small stores with no attention streets which keep thousands of people serving others on a pitiful little

basia

and on the other hand maintains no doubt a deep rooted tradition of shopping on a little scale with multiple relations with the shopkeepers and neighbours. The surroundings are such that every male cannot help but grow up with the idea that there has to be a housekeeper--and every female that housekeeping is a necessary task--someone's got to do it--why not me.

But it is a beautiful day today as I am sitting up in the office looking out over the roofs--the ~~spires~~ La Grande Place are only about 500 yards away --its spires tower over the motley assortment of roofs. I report in here at about 10 and leave about 6 on a fairly regular basis. This next weekend I am hoping that Al and Connie will be able to bring over the parcel of material that I thought I very smartly shipped in advance--but they got caught up in the postal workers strike. I am planning to write several pamphlets and I am now needing the material that they have very ~~much~~ much. I am not learning much French--it so happens that the people I talk to most know English as well as I do and so they always switch to it. Besides my contact with humans has dropped qualitatively since leaving 334. It is surprising how you can get along without talking--which is not bad for me for a while as there is so much reading that all my talking has prevented me from doing and which I should have been doing all along.

So I gather from what you write that Hugh has pretty well recovered from that attack. He wasn't looking very well a couple of times when I saw him--fortunately he moves about somewhat calmly. Well that Jerry is going to have to shake things up--I am not far from retirement--only 12 years to go to pension but he has a long way to go. Perhaps he should consider taking up a refresher on that specialist course he took in printing a few years back. Maybe he hasn't got the right attitude to this type of work--maybe the bosses sense a bit of maverickness. You know as the old man said in Death of a Salesman- you have to be liked.

womens

I see from the LC that the Ottawa action was a really big success--it took place just as I was leaving--and what about the Chartrand tour. Looks like the biggest thing we have undertaken--although I see from a short note that his daughter was accidentally killed. I hope that that did not interfere in our tour plans for Michel. Has Joyce moved into Women's Liberation. She could really make a contribution there--she knows how to organize things and raise money --both of which they need badly...and it is certainly more scope for her and much more rewarding than the Hemophilia work.

I sent Vic Hugh a lengthy letter on the camp. It would be good if Hugh D and he along with some of the owners got together to discuss many matters. For instance has that Paul Wyman of Kitchener sent you the outline of your lot. Why don't you phone Vic on Coronado Drive and see what he is doing--say over March 2--21-22. I thought that I would really do some work there this summer but I won't be there till late summer or early fall.

Lois, why don't you tell John R. or Dick F about that fellow writing his thesis on Buck. It would be worthwhile from his point of view if he were to talk to them. They could pull together three or four articles on the early days of the CP that I have written and of course there is a wealth of material in our past issue of Vanguard and LC on Buck and his political record. He should know about that book Soldiers of the International. I met a fellow who is at Royal Roads with the author of that book and he tells me that he is writing another volume --which would cover exactly what this student will be covering.

So I will be hearing from you--over

affectionately

R
oss

March 13, 1971
R. Dowson c/o Barry Sheppard
225 Ave Paul Deschanel
1030 Brussels, Belgium

The Dowsons of
Unsworth
Toronto

I never did get to that very special supper that you invited me to before my leaving. But everything was rushed--I only spend several days instead of two weeks or more in Montreal, didn't get up to Ottawa--didn't in fact do half of what I intended

And here I am in far away Belgium. Right now typeing away in a room that overløoks a great many roofs made of bright red tiles and only about 500 yards away are the spires of the old buildings that surround the old market that all the people of Brussels used to go to for hundreds and hundreds of years to excahnge their food, their shoes, their cloth whatever they made with on another. Of course at the head of the big square stands the Duke's palace--his soldiers made sure everyone pa d tax so that he could keep his nice big house and his family in the manner they were accustomed.

I come here everyday about 10 and work till about 6. Of course I take some time off like yesterday to go up to a second hand magazine store to buy copies of old Realite 's. They have nice pictures that I have hung up on the walls of my rooms. On my way up I came across a whole stre full of stores that sell stamps ...nothing but postage stamps--from all over the world.

And everybody here speaks French--only strangers speak other languages. Black people--and there are a great many of them--speak French, people from the Mediterranean, from many places but who now live here --they all speak French. Of course some of them speak another language but it is not English--it is something like the Dutch people speak--Flemish. Sometimes I feel like I am the only person who speaks English --just like Italian, Greek people, Chinese, must feel in Toronto. Boy do I wish that I knew the French language--so I would know what people who stand beside me on the street car are saying to one another, so I know what they are saying on the radio. So I know what the kids are yelling to one another on the street. Boy do I wish I knew how to hear and how to speak French

A few days ago I took the tourists sightseeing tour of this city. So then I could get a broader overview of it--otherwise I know only a few special routes. Tomorrow I will take a day off and go to see some of the places I was able to locate and I thought interesting from the tour. There is a place that overlooks the main residential area of this central city of Belgium which is the most densely populated area in the world. More people live per square foot in this country than do in China, in India--almost anywhere where you probably thought a great many people live--well Belgium beats them all. I will then walk on over to the headquarters ~~which I am~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ of the local movement which I havent been to yet so far. I am usually busy at meetings on weekend.

The previous weekend I took a train across Belgium, through France to Paris--where more people speak French than in Montreal and Quebec put together.

There I met some Chinese people who don't speak French and hardly speak any English--But that doesn't matter as they speak Chinese which I guess more people speak than any other language. Of course I saw many many things on the way there and the way back. It is not like in Canada where you can go places and stand on land where possibly no one has ever stood before and where no one lives for miles and miles, where there are no houses, just land without any fences. Here people have lived for years and years and you can see what they have made and done and left

Do you think I am going to learn much that is good for us over there. Well to heat my apartment I have to light a little stove. Of course I have had to go to the store and buy some bags of coal. Yes it comes in bags about 25 pounds each. This little stove uses up quite a bit --if I have it on it uses about 2 bags in 24 hours to heat the water that is in a jacket around the stove that circulates into the radiators in the various rooms. ~~It is so much trouble~~ It is so much trouble that even though I am sometimes cold I don't bother about it. There is no place to store the coal and the kindling and so you have to buy it in the grocery store. Oh, the other day the lights went out---I blew a fuse. But I never saw such fuses as these before. You just don't find one which is all ~~black~~ black which tells you that it is the one that is blown. You have to look at these much closer... they have two posts which are connected by a little piece of wire strung between them. I had burned out the little piece of wire. So all I had to do if there was enough there was to unravel a bit and connect the two posts again. Very simple --seems better than your house ..But it isn't because it is easy to change the thickness of the wire and so many times you have fires. So I guess we don't want those---and we don't want to change from that very handy way that the oil truck fills our tank and all those automatic devices see that your house is warm. Most things I see here keep here us all closer to one another, more tied down to our house ~~than~~ than to the streets and the stores closest to our house--instead of letting us go out many places to see new things and do new things.

Paris Of course there are many more people here trying to change the situation than there are in Toronto trying to change the situation there. When I got here nearly all the students in the high schools had come out into the ~~street~~ street to tell the police and the judges that they wanted one of their fellow pupils released from jail and wanted the police to stop pushing them around. This startled everyone--that the high school students even should come out of the schools, shut them down, and take over the streets in the center of the city to tell everyone what they wanted. And of course in England right now--right across the channel from here most of the people in the unions will be coming out ~~in~~ of the factories shutting them down so that the government knows very well what they are against laws that are going to prevent them from getting better wages, better houses, more food etc. So maybe the people over here will make some big changes faster than us --then we can learn from them.

I hope everyone is busy, learning what they can at school, building the women's liberation movement and making the union and the NDP better for all of us--and keeping things going at 334 which is the heart of everything.

affectionately--your uncle Ross

March 23, 1971
Brussels

R
Dear John and John *S*

Art 4

I received both your letters--and an envelope from Art this morning but unfortunately Art's letter contained nothing but the text of the Independent Quebec document as it appeared in La Lutte for Pierre which as I had told him should go to Paris. It came airmail too so it is all the more difficult to understand that there were not even be a little note

I must say that I am very uneasy about the whole situation...and I find it hard to know how to grasp the problem. For instance I do not know what the minority political line is. What was it at Vieux Montreal? But in general what is it? Do I understand that they have the opinion that a youth movement is no longer a viable proposition? And that they go so far as not wanting us to bother putting out a youth paper when for some reason we gave them the majority on the editorial board?

As you probably know from everything that I hear the French are moving to build a youth organization. They are publishing a youth paper --high school oriented. This is really where the action is right now in France. The weekend I arrived the high school students took over the main centers of Paris in a massive protest against the frame-up and imprisonment of a young high school student--and they forced a massive retreat by the government, the courts and the police. And right now there are a whole rash of struggles in school after school across France--many are being closed down by the authorities. I think I sent you a copy of the first issue of the youth paper. It was apparently a big success and Alain told me yesterday in the process of exchanging a few words that they are putting it out on a monthly basis. Those are the simple facts which our Montreal minority with Leon reading Le Monde must know. And what has happened in Quebec for them to take a position --out with the youth organization and a youth paper. The French are ultraleft but I do not have the impression that Mike and that group are ultraleft. ~~What is the situation~~ My impression is that they have never identified with the line of The Red Mole on terrorism, on the Tupamero etc.

So I don't understand the politics and I don't hear any proposals that would come to grips with that. So we have a clique, who make an uneven and in some cases no positive work contribution, who talk over a coffee and disorient new youth, make it difficult for those comrades such as Manon who want to carry the ball to devote themselves to the work. And we have a situation where for instance some comrade like Colleen with there is no element of political disagreement who think other comrades in some ways conduct themselves in such a way as show overconcern and create an uneasy atmosphere which I would gather she thinks in some way plays into the hands of the minority

Then I don't understand this talk about "withdrawing" the minority from the youth. I see this word is not used accidentally but it strikes me as odd with draw the minority. ---instead of kicking them out. It suggests that they would be agreeable while we continue on with the youth organization less them. Would they agree. I don't get it. And if they did not agree how would you be able to carry it. It would seem to me that there would be a big scandal not only in the League to which they would appeal but in the world movement. This seems so obvious that I say that I do not understand.

I gather that we are agreed over there to the idea of dropping Jeune Garde. Well I don't think there is any principal involved. In general I would think that it would be seen as a step back however really one has to know the complete picture to have a firm opinion on this proposal. It is no doubt a lot of work to put out Jeune Garde with the limited forces we have at our disposal and after having put it out it is a big job to circulate it. If it doesn't bring youth comrades into the circulation who at this time do not understand the importance of La Lutte then there is a question about our continuing to put it out. Real concrete specific problems may well make it justifiable, even good that we dump Jeune Garde and expand La Lutte. But it cannot be for any suggestion that the youth are not the main effort of concentration for us. I see ~~much~~ from Pat Jordan's draft of their political resolution that the British are contemplating fusing the Spartacus with IMG--after it has failed to give them that qualitative size change they oriented themselves to get and an existence of about 6 short months. They are now moving off into a ouvrierist direction. There has been a decline in the youth radicalization they claim like many of the new left and like many of them they are now swining into the working class--which will of course be in vain. This ouvrierism is now a common development in the new left and some of our European sections---from ultra-leftism to sectarianism to ---what-----

What more can I say? I am of course worried about Art. I thought that he showed many of the symptoms of exhaustion when I was last there and this whole development tends to affirm that opinion. What are we going to do about it. Can we give him a holiday? Perhaps he and I should switch for a couple of months. This would be highly reasonable--even profitable for the period of May 8th (the Belgian first congress) through the Paris Commune action in Paris, to the French congress March 30--31st--and if thought advisable to the IMG congress June 19 and 20th. I think you should consider this. But maybe we should consider a more long ranging change---pull Art out and send someone else in. Of course the someone else would have to be someone like John Riddell.

Then I am concerned also about Alan B who has moved in so boldly and generally so effectively. This could be quite demoralizing for him, ~~much~~ there is some possibility of this in that we do not have a real team there yet. I do not know how to read Marion's intentions

While I am at the typewriter I should perhaps say something about Dick's response to his hearing my comments to Naomi about their coming here after my six months...and John's enquiries as to what staying here means and would mean particularly for Naomi.

First I am somewhat surprised at Dick's reaction. It is true sometime decisions are made ~~much~~, or the framework for a decision pretty well outlined and circumscribed outside of the top bodies of the movement. ~~much~~ That is inevitable--even correct. Dick feels out of things often when he really isn't. But I could swear that at the PC we did talk about the possibility of John R and of course Naomi taking my place over here at some month. For I know fully well that the comrades were told by John R and myself or was it Art that the south wanted me to go for a year but when we came back we said we did not agree to such a proposition ~~much~~. We agreed to six months and then a re-assessment. And I am positive that we have on various occasions and surely at the subsequent PC meeting talked about some other comrade than myself going--first John because of his lingual talents.

I really don't think Dick is serious in this "charge" that he flung out upon hearing some joke I made with Naomi. At anyrate why don't we find some

---3
ocassion to raise this matter--about my return, and someone else possibly going over. For instance it could come up on the pc around a proposal that perhaps Art should come over for the Belgian and French congresses -- May 8th to May 31st. Why don't you raise it this way.

Now assuming that there is agreement that Naomi and John come over. I know there are problems for Naomi--job etc and it would be highly desirable that we would make a hard and firm commitment. But I must say that in some ways I think this is not good--if it would be best that we were quite flexible. In more ways than one. Possibly we will need to do something about recolonizing Montreal. Well we don't have many possibilities--variant from what I see. If Art wants to come out or we want him to come out the replacement has to be a leading comrade who knows French--can hear it and speak it. Off hand I cannot see anyone other than John R. I do not think I could consider for some period even a comrade like Paul K--and Dick is out of Toronto. I gather from a note from John Naomi is thinking of wanting to work for the movement full time. These opportunities do not come up every I gather we are going ahead to reinforce Jeff. Well I think we all know is more than just giving Jeff a hand--being a helper. We really need someone who can not only work with Jeff on the terms that he sets which are by no means easy but we need someone capable of taking initiatives. Naomi has all these qualities and more and in my opinion it would not only be a big step forward for us but also a big opportunity for Naomi. I would think that it would be very good if Naomi could now kick free of requiring to conform to the employment requirements imposed by the Toronto board of education. Making her available both for the Crecent operation and or Europe.

If we are worried about the financing of such an operation as J and coming over and the usefulness of it there is something we should do now. It would be good to write Sheila to ~~ask her~~ ask her about the legal angles of a Canadian coming to Belgium and taking a job--if only a part time one here for a few months. This would solve the financial and in this way along would justify being here--say get a half time job or a job for say two of the 6 months and then do other things. For instance it would be very good if Naomi was not only able to do many things with John here went to conferences, educational seminars etc which you would be surprised takes some time but that she did some serious reading, really became proficient in French by studying this and wrote for our or the US press --followed women's lib who no one here outside of England so far really knows or cares much about.

~~xxxxxx~~ I see all kinds of worthwhile things that Naomi could do both personally satisfying and politically valuable. That is if things were to stay more or less on the plane that they are. Of course they could rapidly change. For instance what with developments now taking place in Argentina around the Comatiente group we can have a real cleavage in the international. From Peter C's report this group is nothing but a pure and simple terrorist group. It is not a matter of the application of guerrilla warfare, either urban or rural....we are dealing with an ultra leftist terrorist movement. According to Peter we have right now in Bolivia a situation of dual power with rudimentary organizations of a soviet type...which the majority forces are completely ignoring and waiting until they are brushed aside a decisive defeat is dealt and then we go into rural guerrilla warfare. This causes us to seriously consider our attitudes in the next immediate period. It means not so much coexistence in the FI but war. This will have to be discussed. So

So as you can see there are several different variants. because in practice there are several different difficult situations arising before us

But I think that at this time the atmosphere should be adjusted in some way if it is not already so that we have the possibility of John and Naomi coming to Europe if and when we consider it desirable. We cannot leave the situation as it would seem Dick sees it---that it is absolutely positively excluded that John and Naomi come to Europe.

Now of course I am quite prepared to go the the south and tell them that we are not intending to replace me, We are prepared to do that. At this stage of things I do not think we are required to say that oh yes we are able to let Ross go--but not John. I think that I can do what John has been doing, including working with Dick on a good basis. We might well decide to send no one---for instance if Art has to come out of Montreal for I don't think should that become necessary that Art could take John's place in Toronto.

What do you think of this.

Incidentally I had hoped after this weekend to be able to tell you an opinion on how we should deal with the assignment for the world congress ---both the money and the number of delegates. Key to my proposal would have been a discussion with Joe or Jack on their line. I know they are not satisfied but I do not know exactly the basis for that and just what is involved. So in my opinion we should just continue to say nothing--neither accept or reject.

I was disappointed that Gisela never got anything from Canada. Have you made a decision that we are giving nothing but the formal dues and the congress assessment whatever it may be. You should let me know. I suggested really just a token amount and no regular commitment at this time. What are you thinking.

I have a feeling that there are a whole host of little details that are outstanding between us--for instance the name and address of that comrade who we recruited in Kitchener-Waterloo and who came back over here to Hambour. I am also particularly anxious to know about one or two matters---for instance what we are doing about the investigation on the War Measures Act investigation. And what we are doing about the Ottawa situation. I hope we are trying to practice preventative medicine.

I hope that you will publish some of those various mamlar items that I sent in the next issue of our paper. Joe wrote that he was glad to get them and intends to publish them over a period conceding that some of them will get outdated and have to be dumped. I got the March 22 issue and there is not one and it is obvious that he is not giving them to the Militant. I thought some of them were quite interesting--for instance the Russian art exhibition

I intend to make an evaluation of the fight against the Industrial Disputes Act in a few days. What with the U.S. meeting this weekend it has lost its news character and will have to be more along the lines of an evaluation. This is regrettable as it tends to more obviously and directly pit me against the British evaluation. However. The next couple of days I am going to be tied up with business arising out of the weekend meeting, then I am off to Italy for a trade union seminar via Paris and back

Incidentally the British presented their opposition to the article we carried attacking the Mole's line on Quebec. I turned the whole thing around and gave them shit

for consciously cutting across their line. They pulled back. They didn't know what they wanted after it was clear that they were never going to get any apology. It was finally left with my saying that we were more than agreeable to circulating through our membership a statement that they might like to draw up on the whole question. A and C don't think we will get the statement but I think we will. At anyrate I am looking forward to it. I think that this is just the issue we want to open up on with the majority.... terrorism---that it what they mean by armed struggle. They may send you a copy and not me. I think that we should seriously consider who should answer it and how. I want to be in on that for as I suggest it has world wide implications

I will be sending you a detailed report on the last weekend U.S. meeting. --but possibly not for about a week from the date you receive this. We have been hit with an unfortunate accident. Connie and Al came over but they were unable to bring the books and pamphlets that I sent over to them about a month before the British postal strike for the simple reason that they have not yet arrived at their place. Had a very profitable discussion on the line of the tendency and their documentation for the coming IMG conference.

As you probably know the youth comrades should be talking in terms already of where who is going --to what campus for next fall. It would be very valuable if some young comrade already made the moves to come to a British campus--you will recall we had hoped Harry K could come over but it was not possible. I have raised with with Peter C so that they will discuss this seriously in the south. The tendency is really isolated from the youth in the IMG-Spartacus. You should raise this matter to the Toronto organizer and the youth executive secretary.

You won't forget to let all concerned know about the big date changes on the various congresses

comradely

So where do I stand on Montreal. If you have good and substantial basis for fusing the youth paper with Jeune Garde I see no principle involved. I do not see how we can "withdraw" the minority from the youth. And of course I am opposed to any concept of liquidation of the youth LJS. Good to see that the Chartrand affair goes so well. Astonished that Winnipeg had 3,000 ~~withdrawing~~ even with St Boniface. What does it mean. I hope someone will tell Carol O to drop me a line re Prairie developments.

Full 05 Review

Treat as attachment to letter Mar. 23/71 (RD in Europe) Dated: Mar 31/71

Comments on March 15 issue of Labor Challenge

A very impressive issue--the more I looked at it the more I am impressed by our press--but maybe that's because I am farther removed from it anticipating it more, even a little sick to be more around it and the Canadian movement

But here goes.

There is one article that I think is bad. Page 4 China warns US on Laos. Here we are heading into the April 24 action. What do we get from LC but gloom and doom. And if the ending wasn't bad enough--"as they push humanity to the brink of a 3rd ww seem to remember only their own imperialist interests.".....we spell out in the second column "But the ruling circles in Washington, oblivious to world opinion..." Here they are headed for defeat, the Chinese are standing up--- and LC ~~xxxxxxxx~~ tells us all is up, they are not paying any attention to the anti-war moods etc.. I see it is an unsigned article. The author should have charges laid against him/her--and as for the editor it is hard to see how this could get through==particularly at this time ~~xxxxx~~ Calls for a big correction next issue

And now to go from front to back

Front page line shots really good. However I don't think then we could carry a regular photo like we did of Gordon and co--had to be a line drawing I think. The head--Stop New --is not strong enough for the style of the rest of the page--so also for Labor mobilizes against--page 2 excellent that box on the YCLer joining us and tied into the fund drive--a good touch. Surprised that YS let us scoop them on this --a good statement but it doesn't really give you a feel of what the YCL experience was like--end of illusions--too sophisticated and high level politics.

Why do we call CPL small

Two jabs on Trudeau's eat shit. But read them over and you don't know what Trudeau said. I raised this with Jackie on YS. Lot's of people don't know what we are referring to. My impression is that the press did not give this a big play and probably in some areas didn't even mention it. So the jab has a sort of insider appeal--and thus thrusts many readers out into the cold.

page 3 The Mont Laurier action is really terrific. Excellent development and well used by Vern. But why did we have to use the quotes from Montreal Star--why as if it was some distant land and we had to be cautious--why didn't we get all the papers and write as if we were there. Which raises the simple and obvious question--months of preparation--where is the LJS LSO. No statement, no leaflet. Seems no task for us to have gone up there --only 145 miles n of Montreal. Ask them--the articles begs an answer. The photo is excellent--all youth. While it is true that Dunlop can correctly be called multi-national--I don't think we should use this term as I cracked in the article on page 7

CLC brief-----Westell "caught the pulse" "In an interchange with Tru" something to do with highways--exchange? Last demand seems to me to be just tagged on --planned economy and public ownership. I don't see why we should quote that description of MacDonald 2nd paragraph--who are we quoting--and what's wrong with him appearing in a sober suit, stiff white collar, heavy horned rimmed glasses...." Should he have appeared in sandals, beads and turtle neck ??? I don't get it

page 5--good article by Art--a bit long and over detailed but good. too bad he didn't use his own name in La Lutte. The passivity and domination of this convention says something about the unevenness of the radicalization in Quebec doesn't it

22 on March 15 LC

page --good interview. sorry we didn't get much on the movement--no feeling of what is cooking--but space problems

page 7 --my article needed sub heads in the worst way. Good to see contact boy filling out. Layout not very attractive--tends to kill article ~~which~~

By the way how is St Kitts shaping up with our young comrade going in.

page 9 Where was March 2 meeting photo of Chartrand ?? Looks like Michel is going to give us some really good speeches from this article

--really fine that Diane was on platform. Article on Penny is written oddly--although it is very good. A sort of half interview and half commene on inside knowledge. Why the sic after Socialist Workers League--just a transaltion of LSO isn't it--and I dont see anything wrong with that particularly...when someone else does it. We wouldn't do it but so what?

page 10-- the photo is not of anti union bill protest as I recall but postal workers--right--did I tear it off perhaps. Dont thikn the insertion of the 4th paragraph from the previous article did naything but break the style--however I am probably prejudiced. Good to see that you got that in although Intercontinantal didn't but used old one and then went to the trouble of writing up their own on later developments as if they couldn't expect me to come through. Wonder what they will do on March 18 event? I intend to wro e of course. What are you going to do with the various

other items--Russian art etc.....

Glad to see we gave good coverage to Czech trials--very significant that we have a stright political trial with Trotskyists showing their stuff. Too bad you gave so little to the Paris occuaption of Embassy. But we are going to press again... should carry more on this significant event.

Intercontinental must not have got the stuff in time from Ernest page 11--and excellent article by Eugene. \$30 --dont talk to me about Bengal. But I must insist--are we trying to get this comrade run out of town--why dont we use a pseudonym

page 12---suprised to see from Dick's article that they are still making arrests under the Public Order Act--my feeling is contrary to Dick's last paragraph--suprised that they dare do so and apparently can get away with it.

No rules again around the pamphlet cover. I hope this is not the real co cover--that we were able to use one of the three or four designs I worked out. Glad ot see Wayne without that hair and beard. But suprised how little we used him--one little paragraph at the end. And he is so valueable --a mistake I think --obvious.

So there it is as I marked it up--but not as I would relate it to the edit board--I would have overlooked many many little things I here mention. All this takes nothing from my opening comments which were an overall impression after having marked it all up.

Ed. notes:

South = S.W.P. (US)


Peter C = Peter Camejo (SWP)

Pierre Frank (F.I.)

U.S. = United Secretariat, F.I., (Belgium)

Gisela Mendel

March 24, 1971

Dear Art; 

This note will not get to you in time for the discussion on the paper ---your letter arrived only today after I had already sent a note in reply to both John R and John S whose letters came Monday night special delivery and ~~Monday~~ Tuesday--- I have already told them that I do not see the paper decision as a very decisive one from the information at hand and your letter leaves me of the same opinion.

I have also told them that I do not understand the politics of the minority. I have no information on this. If they are taking their line from the French you can expect very shortly that they will be the strongest supporters of a youth organization and advocates of a youth paper. I gather from Vergeat that this coming convention of the League will see the formal constitution of a youth movement. They are now publishing a youth paper on a monthly basis.

You ~~ask~~ have a short paragraph in your letter "you saw a little of it when you were here but that was but a sample; demoralization and cynicism spontaneism and mindless activism; opposition to the key movement building activities, hostility to our press and its sale, opposition to the fulltimers who with others constitute a bureaucracy, the English Canadian wing of the movement has nothing to teach us --combined with some anti-English currents. On the key questions this is the line that carries in the youth!"

I am not sure what I saw with regards to the minority tendency. I attended a meeting of leading comrades where there was much concern expressed about the safe gossip against the fulltimers and I recall also there were some complaints about a somewhat useless expenditure of resources on leaflets that we were unable to use. So I saw cynicism, cliquism and I do not know whether the leaflets were a product of mindless activism or not. Is that spontaneism?

How can the above type of problems be solved. I don't see how "withdrawal of the perpetrators of these policies can solve this. So the key minority-ites who promote ~~this~~ this atmosphere are removed from the youth milieu but they meet the youth at the forums, at restaurants. So this crap comes back to you through the mouths of innocents. What are you going to do--lay charges against those who corrupted the morals of the youth. I can only see some kind of witch-hunt...of a perpetual character. I suppose you think you can handle this in the league. Aren't they going to corrupt new league people?

The problem it seems to me is that you have a clique--and really there just aren't any organizational actions that can solve this problem. This cliquism ~~current~~ current would best be undermined if the few French Canadian comrades we have recruited became a real leadership...Jean H Manon, Andre and we moved in such a way as to establish them as the leaders.

Of course we have a lack of cadre in the youth field--and in the league. But I think that the overriding problem is lack of leadership period....we have not developed a leadership team that is an expanding

operation that is developing and has the possibility of assimilating new forces. That seems to me to be the problem. We are no closer to solving the leadership problem now than we were six months ago than we were a year ago and possibly before that. The problem is not solved by sending in new cadre. The cadre has to be developed out of the situation as it is now--where we have some very able dedicated highly active comrades who represent a movement that has established a tradition and built up a lot of good will.

I think that we should think about the current problem along this line---there is nothing new in the picture except that the ~~leadership~~ minority took a devastating defeat at the convention--that the French and the international know this and they know they know it--and ~~they~~ the minority really doesn't have a line. The French who may well be intellectual inspirers of the minority don't have our concept of building a movement--a concept of united front activities--but I do not see how that causes us any particular problems in Montreal. We have the majority in the LSO, a core in the youth. So what can the minority do--get us into some actions that don't take us anywhere? Well the worst is that they may exhaust some young people but we are there you know and you have the pan Canadian movement.

I think there is a real problem of leadership in the majority. This is the big urgency now!!! Withdraw the minority. Yesterday there was another big urgency--Manon come on staff. We have a crisis operation in Quebec and have had one for some while. For some time it was expressed in the term priorities---this and that could not be done because of priorities and also of course because of peculiarities of Quebec.

For instance what are we doing about April 24? Right now I am supposed to be writing up an inspiring directive to Bombay, the Philippines and Togoland to move on April 24. Why the majority here is favoring this now is the great victory being scored by the Vietnamese and there is a big developing mood they cannot ignore and they are going to move with it. Not united fronts, no serious long range work--an action. The minority as distinct from them has a strategy on Vietnam---but we have never had it in Quebec. The entire leadership in Quebec has had the international majority--the Mill line. We can or cannot do it --determined by priorities. That was a very bad article in the last issue of Labor Challenge but I gather we are doing an all out job on Vietnam--leaflet into the unions building actions, posters meetings etc. What are we doing in Montreal? I hope I am wrong--I hope that we are really moving into the movement that is one again coming up around this---I saw it of course at the time of the invasion while in Montreal. Are we pushing into the united front. If we aren't take it from me--THE MAJORITY IS NOT GIVING LEADERSHIP.

How do you explain that the headquarters when I arrive at the height of the trouble is decorated with all those stupid gun posters from Cuba. Don't we have a line. How can you explain a sign on the wall français seulement. Worse still when I want to take it down some comrades of the majority--excellent comrades don't even understand what this means--That to me is the minority line--was for years. How do you explain the incident about Arnie ~~and~~ just an incident--and the fact that we are doing nothing--absolutely nothing about work in the English language area--and comrades it seemed to me on their own--Tara and Marilyn had to push me into McGill?

How do you explain that there can be a crisis amongst comrades who have worked together for years, have no substantial differences--around the YS?LJS convention--I should say not only comrades but longstanding and even personal friends.

When I left Montreal last I was deeply concerned about Penny who while she really developed from her experience around the "trouble" now seems to me to be in somewhat over wrought--even ill. And of course I was considerably concerned about the effect this might have on you Art. But overall I went away with some confidence from ~~the~~ seeing Alain in action. Here is a guy with real initiatives, real energy intelligent, seems to have assimilated our ideas --who will take a lot of the pressure off Art and with him we will be able to build a team operation--a real leadership.

What is the urgency you talk about? Is it Manon reactions to the situation. But after many experiences with Manon I myself never really felt that she could cope with the challenge we thrust upon her. Where does Alain stand on the situation whatever it is

You see I am not at all sure that I disagree with Colleen. And it is not at all a matter as you phrase it exaggerating or not exaggerating the danger. Of course this minority is absolutely poison, rotten and we all wish we were rid of them. I think we have the majority-- everything favors us. So we don't get involved in the mindless activities, the exhausting actions they might propose--we don't carry their spontaneist line whatever this involves. We disagree with them, argue against them sometimes sharply, sometimes make the record, sometimes we may lose a vote ---but we are the majority. The question is--how does the majority act and does it move towards solutions ---does it have any-- solutions--- for instance I am struck by what appears to me lack of assimilation of Jean H and Andre's

So you have projected a solution--- withdrawal of the minority of the youth . from

Will they accept being withdrawn--how is that going to be implemented how is it to be motivated ~~them~~ You say nothing about this. You now have national committees in youth and League. I would suppose you propose to do it through the League. And since I assume they will not want to leave their cosy circle ~~xx~~ you will have to pass a motion which will motivate their being withdrawn. It seems to me that you may be faced with a split--that they will say no, then when you move to discipline them --expell them I take it--very serious for the LSA-LSO both Quebec wide and Canada wide they will appeal or if they figure there is no use (Mike will tell them what the pan-Canadian leadership will be thinking about this difficult situation and whether it can be used to promote a crisis in the pan-Canadian movement) they may just pull out and set up a new youth organization--- take what they can out of our group. So then we are free of them inside but we may well have something on the outside giving us a running trouble for a period--until I suppose as you must hope they die off--which they may not.

Don't you really mean--expell the minority..Do you really think they are withdrawable. From where I stand I don't think so--so I would prefer to use the word that correctly describes the action...We are going to expell a minority which seems to me to have less and less a political line and more and more has become a clique which says nasty things about us and before young people who come to our movement for radically political purposes and we are the political leadership--unchallengeably. My impression is that the minority doesn't really play much of a political role and possibly the strongest element in their armament is that the leadership is primarily English.. Once ~~xxxxx~~ a person develops some real revolutionary consciousness this is not too powerful a prejudice to work on but it can have its first effects

If this is the big problem then I am all for using the money that we had for Manon and taking h ld of Andre and dragging him along and up---and if this is out Jean H---as they are--make something out them--really devote sometime to this

Dont think lots and lots of Trotskyist branches and movements have had such a problem as you have. We had it in Toronto with Rose--we had it with Engler. They have it right now in the US--with Ralph Levitt Garry Trainor and with the Garza&s/ These comrades are causing all kinds of troubel for as you know they are able. But they haven't been expelled and for good reason in my opinon. n t

Because I dont think expulsions in these cases solve anything at all but make tne million more trobubles. There is no disagreement on the difficulties you face, no misunderstanding on the urgencies and I dont think ~~xxxxxxx~~ any lack of understanding that the movement in Quebec cannot be build in the exact same way as in the US of the rest of Canada.

What I would like to hear is what permits us to think that this is a solution in the light of the world wide experiences of Bolshevism?

But thenagain maybe you use the word Withdrawal adviseadly--I see John uses it too. So it really is that I am out of the picture.

At anyrate here are some opinions for your consideration.

comradely

Ross

And what are you doing about Penny---I am quite distrubed. I am not so worried about the atmosphere of blackmail she creates in the meetings but about her personally, her health and political well being. She really grew on the basis of that experience and showed what real stuff she is made of. Something must be done if there has not been a change since I saw her last

March 30, 1971.

Dear Art,

Events in Montreal seem to be rushing past us at such a pace-- I thought that rather than settle for ~~the~~ a hurried and incomplete phone call, it was better to step back and pull together a few ideas on paper. Then we can discuss them and other problems by phone or in person, as it seems necessary.

The developments over the weekend certainly came as a shock to me, and to the other leading comrades here. I thought we were going into the weekend with a commonly agreed procedure, but events proved otherwise.

I was frankly astonished at your report of your Saturday meeting. We discussed the proposed majority get-together in detail on the phone, and we had a clear understanding that no meeting was going to be held-- or that if a meeting was felt necessary, you would inform us so we in Tor. could participate in it. We both agreed that it would be very harmful for the majority to firm up around a course of action, a strategy, before the joint meeting with Toronto comrades at which this was to be hammered out. Now we learn that the "party" where comrades were going to "blow off steam a bit" has constituted the majority faction and taken a whole series of decisions, many of which have already been acted upon.

We strongly question many of these decisions; we feel they tend to drive a wedge between yourselves and the central leadership and present our coming meeting with a whole series of fait accomplis. For example I understand your faction meeting decided to move to have the branch and local reopen a ~~xxx~~ discussion of a whole series of questions on which discussion was closed at previous youth and league conventions--like "escalation provocation," league-youth relations, student syndicalism, etc. And that the branch is now moving to organize such discussions. X It is clearly outside the power of the branch to reopen discussions in this manner; such a decision can be made only by the PC. And in addition I would wish to question the wisdom of doing this. I understood you were going to open discussion of the disputes arising in present work (Vieux Montréal, etc.)--but past disputes--that's a different kettle of fish.

Similarly, we were surprised to hear that your faction was constituted on the basis not of the convention decisions but of your document, which was not adopted and in fact was in part repudiated at the convention. I never dreamed you would proceed to such a decision without consulting us here. For what it's worth, we here felt that this put the majority on the weakest conceivable political grounds. Instead of representing the line of the movement, and loyalty to that line, it represents a peculiar and highly contestable view of a minority based on experiences long since past. It cuts you off from many of the most viable forces in Montreal--not least important of course John and Colleen. And at a time when the strategy towards the minority is the focus of your disagreement with the center, it tends to define the majority as ~~antagonistic~~ antagonistic to the line of the center comrades, to bring our differences into the open--just what we had been taking great pains to avoid.

The youth's nominations to the edit. bd. came as even more than a surprise. The youth leaders here have expressed their views on this question. What puzzles me is how this could happen when we had an explicit commitment from yourself and Alain that the purge of minority youth leaders would not take place. Did you not mention this agreement to the majority youth when you spoke to them? Did they refuse

on this question?
to accept your leadership? It is hard to explain ~~xxx~~ this away as a result of "some confusion" when your agreement with Jacquie was so explicit.

A Montreal comrade quoted you as having said on one occasion, "When you're talking with the comrades from the center you nod, and smile--and then you ignore them." No doubt you said this in jest, or perhaps you were misheard. But the story flashes a danger signal--because truly, that is how we felt this weekend.

Perhaps when we have a chance to discuss these events we may find that honest misunderstandings were mainly at fault. Be that as it may, I think we must see them for what they are--a warning of the degree to which the Montreal majority and the center have drifted to sharply counterposed strategies ~~xx~~ for the LSO, and the speed with which our differences are tending to burrow themselves out into the open.

Let me start with what Jacquie reported of her discussions with you and of her understanding of the decisions of the majority faction. It's always better to get such reports on paper where everyone has a chance to take a look at ~~xx~~ them. I quote. The strategy of the majority is to declare factional war on the minority, and to drive them out of the movement as soon as possible. The organized majority will consist of comrades who agree with the definition of the minority in your document; comrades who agree with convention decisions but aren't sure about the definition of the minority are outside it. The carrying of the factional struggle will necessarily involve a pulling back from the external activities of the movement, and likely ~~also~~ affect the work of putting out and circulating the paper to some degree too. The discussion must embrace not only present disputes but must revive past disputes as well through a series of educationals in the branch. The majority is not oriented to maintain the new youth comrades, except a couple of English-language ones. The others--indeed any comrade who gets hooked up with the minority--have to be driven out. This is to be done in large part by demoralizing minority comrades, in part through social exclusion. That you feel the fundamental cause of the minority is the objective situation in Montreal, and that for this reason the ~~winnability~~ problem it represents will appear again, though not so seriously. *However accurately Jacquie has reported your words, she has certainly accurately described the thrust of your actions.*

To start off, what is the minority? Is your document of last year sufficient ~~xx~~ to be the basis of your strategy? I was ~~xxx~~ struck by the fact that not the least of the minority's defeat at our convention was that it was unable to sustain a single one of its basic objections to our policy--at least sustain their differences in a form understandable to anyone but themselves and a few experts on the majority side. Since the convention I am not aware of a single major difference which has arisen in our work. True, when we met in Montreal ten days ago I had the impression the differences were re-exploding. But nothing seems to have emerged, but ~~some~~ and transitory tactical questions. The only possible exception is the question of the youth--and I cannot help thinking that that is largely a set of defensive reactions by the minority to the factional situation in the movement, rather than a reflection of its basic anti-Trotskyist character. If the minority were a hardened liquidationist, anti-Trotskyist current, its conduct over the past months would be inexplicable. It seems inescapable that its fundamental character is that of a clique, which exhibits persistent tendencies to liquidationism, etc., but is based more on personal ties ~~than~~ a hardened opposition to our line.

When we declared factional war on Shactman-Burnham, or Cochrane, or Engler for that matter, we had solid evidence of their revisionist

views on the most urgent and obvious issues. Attack the minority like that and you may find yourself flailing at thin air. While you press home points about long passed discussions, you assume the appearance of a "clique" that cannot justify its existence, and they become the innocent victims, the advocates of unity and harmony. And you assume the posture of blocking the growth of the movement out of factional bile, why they struggle to free themselves to work in the mass movement. You simply can't attack a clique like that--you hand them all your weapons, all your defenses. You can't win.

At the risk of ~~deeming~~ dogmatic, let me say that the struggle with the minority in Quebec will be decided by one very simple question. Who can best lead the movement in its intervention into the exploding mass struggles in Quebec? Who can best extend the influence of the Trotskyists, and increase their forces, in these mass struggles? If every factional struggle is ultimately decided by reference to the class struggle, the ~~a~~ rapid decisiveness of this factor is multiplied by the level of revolutionary ferment in Quebec. ~~As~~ As it girds its loins for the internal struggle, the majority seems to be giving up this ~~key~~ decisive test, leaving the field clear to the minority.

One of the things that disturbed me about our discussion last weekend was the fact that we could debate the internal struggle for some seven hours without any reference to the ~~great historic~~ ^{revolutionary} events occurring literally outside our doors. I searched my mind for a parallel in the history of Bolshevism. But frankly, what came to mind was the old factionalism of the NDY. ~~xxxxx~~ The discussion seemed to me symptomatic of the degree to which many majority comrades had become derailed, politically warped, by the long and very difficult experience of the factional struggle--to the extent where they could really no longer relate in a positive manner to the mass struggles. And the talk of the need to pull back our external work, not to recruit, etc., only made this explicit in my mind.

The War Measures crisis, I thought, showed how the majority must conduct itself. We moved out boldly to apply the convention line and to recruit on that basis. We moved to involve the minority in this effort and place them under our discipline. The onus was on the minority to find a basis to disagree with our line, a basis to justify its existence. The minority receded not because we'd been "soft" or because of objective conditions primarily but above all because we'd been effective, and left them little alternative but a political struggle on the most unfavorable grounds.

But I feel the more general experience particularly in recent months has been that of the inability of the majority to carry out, to implement its line effectively. This is after all what we said was the lesson of Vieux Montréal--we handed political leadership in fact over to the minority. In defense work I have the impression the minority has always played the key role. ~~Especially in French women's work.~~ And in Vietnam work now opening up we are not strongly represented. On many questions majority comrades seem strongly influenced by minority positions: eg. the attitude to "outsiders", to pan-Canadian actions, to the center. And the whole majority position seems to be a rationalization of lack of confidence in its ability to lead the movement--expressed in terms of the inherent tendency of Québécois to support the minority etc.

So now we are to settle into an extended factional siege warfare. Your strategy, while single-minded, does not appear to promise any rapid resolution of the question. The strong points of the majority--the fact that our line is the only one capable of building the movement--will be forgotten because movement built is to be suspended. And

March 31, 1971

R
Dear John

As you can see from the enclosure I have just come in from Italy but I have found the March 29 issue in the box and here are a few comments. You will pardon some of the errors--I am using a French typewriter

First I was surprised to see none of the English ^{potpourri} material in----I cannot recall them all now-- but I see the latest ICP used three or four--I take it that you are dumping them for of course time is the hardest enemy of this type of material. Too bad as I thought some of them were very good and valuable for the paper'---as you see from the letter to Barry and Joe I consider the last English article that I tried to finish going thro the Alps very important and I hope that you can use it: And what do you intend to do with the book review--I have no objection to it being cut but I would like to see it used in some way

I did not think that this issue was as good as the previous although it has some very inspiring material in it such as the movements reaction to the fund drive and the big electoral successes of the YS on campus

First the front page I thought it marked a step away from the previous ones---instead of a bang it is a veritable index--It seems obvious that you were not able to work up a good lead or feature appeal ---so you took the US investment article. I don't know whether you were of the opinion that that article is no hell and so you waffled--I would conclude so from your failure to make the photo three column or do something else--at any rate the front page is an index and does not have anything of really great appeal it seems to me. It is difficult for me so divorced from Canadian developments to give advice but I would have thought the Chartrand tour a better front page)) and I would like to think that the developments in Vietnam, particularly as we go into April 24 worth working up

It seems to me from away over here that this issue is badly edited. The only justification for devoting so much space to Hugo Blanco in our tiny paper would seem to me because we had no time to work up any valuable feature Canadian material. It seems to me that this issue is distinctly light weight. We have Dick who is a good research worker and a good stylist writing a very long but still an essentially news round up article on the Chartrand tour who four or five comrades could do satisfactorily. Then he does the true north which in my opinion is not difficult---you know it is not a column which takes great sensitivity and skill--- and while not many we find can write a sensitive column I think that many can write The true north. Then you have him writing the fund drive item ---which in my opinion is not very good. I dwell on this because it seems to me we are not making use of Dick --his skill and knowledge-- particularly as I think it shows in this issue

I see all our staff is in here but it also strikes me that there are not many contributors such as The Prairies, such as Mark.

From back to front-

What's the woman's name--strikes one as odd after such a breakthrough I thought that Liz's article is a hard worked up one--rather muddled, without

s cler worked out purpose ~~666~~—although I suppose it is designed to
 build up May~~XXIX~~ 9 If there is no particular news surely there are some val-
 ble educational points we can and should make: Wyy couldn't we even lift
 something from Velvet Fist; The Militant--a review of the Millet book
 something with some guts. We neither educate our readers nor comrades by
 getting them to think and write

I thought that the Vietnam was much better but the ending seems to be tacked on- contived. And I hope we can move into a Canadian slant for April 24----only two issues away

Read the last paragraph on the NS fishermen again---so naive. Missing some trade union material-- even good notes

Not a criticism of the paper--a criticism of the ISA-L30 under the Czech news--- no action in Canada

Yes-- for instance on the Chartrand round-up very inspiring-- why did not Walter Davis write for LC or Holdsworth

Whol wrote Waffle- how could we possibly use the word "mismanagement" to describe imperialist looting in the third paragraph. If you want to play up Waffle how can we say "Waffle declares that 'women's liberation' is part of the fight for socialism." Well Well. ~~xix|xpxrx"xxtkexonly~~
~~wawhwainw~~

To be perfectly honest I did not see the need for your article . I wrote a note but I covered this nothing really new. It poses some questions as if to answer them which I do not and I suppose others do not know exist. Where is the "Trudeau government" making attempts to change masks.... You dont tell and it is all new to me surely you are not referring to the Canada Development Corporation. And ask Vic Hugh what he thinks of your final sentence--- a veteran and specialist. Seriously. I havent played for years but I dont think a good team controls the ice by going in every direction. The metaphor instead of giving the good touch you sought and clarifying everything seems to be to do all the opposite. It is unfortunate that statistically the article is rendered not too useful by the paste up6666 ---I cant make out what the bottom para first column means nor can I understand the the second para under the excellent photo

Yes the response to the fund appeal is fantastic. I gather that St Kitts and our colonization are working out well. It seems to me that the response is so good that we have to consider doing something of a positive character to meet anticipation.

But Dick's column Sometimes for all his ability Dick doesn't come through particularly with the personal simple touch. The Bible --who cares for this simile He uses bourgeois bourgeois but doesn't explain what it is---- the press of the capitalists, the bosses, BayStreet+St James That second paragraph is second column is so apologetic and even cringing before the capitalist press---- yes we are the substitute, we are the chal lenger the opposition its beginnings . Our NDP coverage "at least honest" our women's liberation coverage- "not bad at all" Then I think that the whole last para is not the best appeal to raise money " an activist's paper: Ok for the ,ovment but not for readers who we want more of, who read it not at all because it is an activists paper but for infor,ation, for news, for the truth, for facts etc;

Well there it is

comradely

March 31 1971

Dear Coral

John R

Good to hear from you---even though your note is all business. Two days ago in Paris I saw ~~thaw~~ and felt the first and so far only signs of Spring. No, wrong-- on Sunday in Turin Italy the sun was out the grass was green; the fountains in one of the big squares were playing and the kids were running around in shirt sleeves. But here in Belgium all is still dull, damp and generally depressing all the more in that you still have to decide to fiddle around with our oversized Quebec heater or suffer the cold. I usually take the latter course.

I hope you have managed to get down to the camp. I understand that Lois B went down last weekend. And what do you hear from the Prairies? How is our Prairie organizer working out? What does Bill have to say from Edmonton. And I hope that Coral has had a chance to get into Llo. I haven't heard anything from or about the operations out there: Did Brian get the transfer?

I hope that you are not overwhelmed these days)---that John S has been able to give you some help---and even more that you have made some demands on Helen. I see from your letter that you haven't managed to get the typewriter fixed yet---the a is still the same.

Boy am I glad that you wrote me about the store lease. I raised this matter in a letter to John R back on March 13 at the same time as I wrote him about my opinion on the pool hall problem that you raise. In an ~~xxx~~ another letter I told him what I can recall on the loan from John and Collen.

But here goes. Re the store next door. As I said--we want him out or we want to jump the rent considerably: I think we want him out myself. I think that the central office up in the apartment is really not satisfactory and that it should be up there in the editorial room as we had previously planned. My feeling is that the bookstore should move into the drug store and take Crescent in with it. The bookstore does not need to be qualitatively larger but Jeff needs to be on a ground floor and to have more space. I think that we could then consider renting the bookstore that we presently occupy. I think you should consider all this. The decision has to be made after a real exchange of opinion---but one thing is crystal clear -- the rent on that store now is absolutely absurd and in my opinion we want the store anyway. Are you sure about the expiration of the lease. ---that it expires July? I have a feeling it does but then I think I tied it into the pool hall expiration time too. We must be sure. Mrs Modlich's lawyer should have a copy of the lease with the purchase. If it expires in July we should now be giving him notice. After all he needs a little time: Probably a real setback for him -- he is probably counting on getting something for the business but our interests conflict and ours are mankind's. I assume that this is all being discussed by the big brains including that experienced operator Hans M.

I do not know anything about the correspondence with Gisela. I wrote sometime ago suggesting we start a modest contribution of a voluntary character to the center here and that it should get here in time for the March 20 meeting. But it didn't. So they read out our cutoff to my embarrassment.

On the Colleen John loan. I told John^R that he should take this matter up with Helen. I seem to recall that that loan was taken out to help us at a critical period finishe the headquarters. If it was it should appear in the building account. You will find Vern's there and we reached an agreement over it. I hope that that is what we did with J and C's. Of course there are records. I was assured that this stuff was all separat out long ago. John when he raised this had us owing Dick but I know damn well that we paid Dick) ---I think with the loan from Stue. If Helen cannot come through with the dope on this of course there are other records. Colleen had a bank account in Hamilton--- I am quite positive that she paid me by cheque and this information can easily be obtained: And when we paid part of it back so they could go to Cuba-- by cheque probably-- I might have made a notation on the cheque stub what was still outstanding. Of course if we cannot get the information to their satisfaction then we must honour their word there is no question

In your note you say that the branch is said to owe the money. This is completely novel to me. I think that it is in the building account. Did you find the record of the payment to them of the 1,000 dollars --- that should strighten up whether the Toronto ISA is involved. I really dont think it had anything to do with it. I am hoping that Helen O will throw all the necessart lig t on this matter

Re the pool hall. Well John has my opinion in the letter of March 13 I still think that closing the pool hall for two months is fine--that we pay one and he pay the other-- and on those ter,s if he still wants to open on our rent free month that is ok with us: However you comrades are having to handle this and need the flexibility--further,ore I havent heard your arguments and his responses. You have to be able to negotiate and mine is such a proposition

How is 'bdullah making out theseedays in the Arab work; When is he going to write up something in our paper as the specialist that he is on devel opments in his country. I a, sure Harry K would be pleased to work with him It would be presigious for our paper

And what are we)--Harry S--- doing about the press and what have the youth decided to do about Gordon S along the lines of Harry's observations

with warmest regards

Ross

As landlord I assume you are checking up ocassionally on my interests at 27 Bulwer

April 1, 1971
Bruxelles

Toronto
Dear Vern (Olson)

John R.

I have raised this matter in a letter to John however it is possible that he has not thought to mention it to you---so here goes.

I want you to know that I consider that my reactions during that all too hasty conversation about your quitting work for the Hydrex and devoting all your time to the movement were dead wrong.

Wrong on all counts. I am all for you quitting and quitting right now. It is a tragedy that we have always been so hamstrung for money. It is that entrapment that I have always felt that was the basis for my failure to respond with alacrity and enthusiasm.

I gather that if you postpone retiring for five years that the terms of the retirement are considerably better. But I also gather that you are now in a position to retire---that you have managed to work things out with Anne and the projected cost of living of both of you ---and you feel that you could, that you are able, to retire now or at least very shortly.

I am all for doing it now. There are tremendous possibilities open up for us. As I see it we are breaking through, and this therefore is a crucial period for the future of the Canadian revolution and the world revolution. That was why I was all for the extreme boldness with regards to the headquarters. But then I thought we might have to digest this.

I now have quite a contrary opinion. Not only have we to carry on in the spirit of the headquarters decision but we have to accelerate. I was all for my coming over here as part of the same process---this time thrusting comrades into real responsibility of their own. It seems obvious that we have pulled together some valuable cadre and that they are now prepared to move if the older comrades give them every encouragement.

In the next few months we have real possibility of growth, not only on top of the areas already worked but into totally new areas. And this is going to present us with entirely new challenges. We are going to be faced with tremendous problems of assimilation, of educating and preparing the new forces who are coming to us and looking for ideological armament.

You are one of the most suited comrades to meet this great opportunity

Time is so precious. Five years ?? It is absurd if we have any alternative to be so generous, so careless with our time--your time--your life. At your any my ages we could be gone tomorrow. Every moment is precious. And we should act along this line. Every moment.

How, how would we five years from now if we delayed acting now if it is at all possible see that five years of your life.

all the best

April 1, 1971

Toronto

Dear Jacquie

I got your bundle of joy the other day--yesterday.

But it was much bigger than that--a sort of birth --of a movement.

I was wondering when we would start to move--and this looks like this is it. Today Ruth and Lois' bundle of Toronto papers arrived and there -Metro News Toronto Stra March 27-stand Ken and Terry,---- taking on the York president

And the Czech action---just what we needed. A couple of days ago I wrote John R my comments on the latest issue of LC. And among the various criticisms I noted that the report on the Czech protests was good---BUT WHERE WAS THE LSA/LSO? When I read that LC without anything on us I sort of gave up hope--was wondering many things--do the comrades think my proposal ultra-left, adventuristic? Are we being overwhelmed instead of rising to the new possibilities? Are there other problems beside the one posed in Montreal that are disorienting us?? What? But now I see everything is A OK

It is good that you sent everything direct at once to Rouge. All the European papers of the movement take their lead from it. So much so that I sent the photos and story you sent me on to RED MOLE. It will be interesting to see what they do. I do not know whether the press there has reported on the imprisonment of Vaclav Prchlik, for three years. He was a former general and political commissar for the armed forces during the Dubcek period. He criticized the Warsaw Pact's Soviet dominated command structure at a press interview July 5, 1968. Was that at the actual time of the invasion by Soviet troops. A while back I suggested that we should approach all the CP leaders who had opposed the Cdn CP's endorsement of the invasion and ask them to make a public statement. Now it seems more possible than ever to hope that they would have the guts to respond.

I hope we give it good play in the next issues. The link in to the Quebec repression is very good. In the press release I think it would be well to not ~~use the word~~ express the idea that we are shocked by the actions of the Czech officials--we should express indignation and that we are not going to be intimidated etc. So likewise in the statement--I doubt that the Czech people are shocked or horrified by this criminal act of repression---they are not to be intimidated. They know those bastards well. And again at the bottom I don't think we can say that people around the world are demanding etc etc. But these are distinctly small matters. The action is just what we needed--for our own movement--for Canadian politics-- and of course for the world movement. Our action is parallel to the romanticized and vastly idealized Ligue Communiste--and that is good for the international and the discussion that we are in

Equally good news is the YS/LJS recruiter. We have only a couple of months before the schools die on us

so time is of the essence. We should be able to lay the groundwork for a whole summers of activity--largely of course educational--assimilation and projection for the next fall.

There is a very urgent matter that should be handled right away. All the youth locals should encourage as many comrades as possible to pick up the Canadian government on its offer for summer jobs in Europe. I see in the paper that this project has been on for sometime but not too many students have grabbed it and they have extended the deadline until April ~~19th~~ 19th. Just enough time to really move in on it. This can be a big experience for our comrades and for the world movement. The paper reports that there are still openings in France Belgium and Germany. These are just the countries ~~we~~ along with England we want to go to I would imagine they give you order of choice--it should be England, France, Belgium then Germany. We shouldn't bother about the Scandinavian countries certainly other than Sweden. I think that this is very important for us. It would be good if there was a real flood on comrades coming over. Those who get ~~xxxx~~ accepted we could hold an indoctrination (orientation) class for before they leave. John Steele could do this very well.

With the leadership here identifying with the Cordoba Argentine terrorists and the move towards easing off on police state regulations by the government with promises of some forms of parliamentary democracy--the whole line of the leadership here may blow up in their faces very quickly. There are now 45 in jail with 8 of the top committee and history tells us that once off in this tangent it is very difficult to reverse field--we may have the fruits very shortly.

The nicest, the ~~xxxx~~ most pleasant thing that has happened to me since I have been here was receiving the poster We are the People ~~xxxx~~ our parents warned us about. With all the comrades who are jammed into it. ..Sylvia, you Dave etc etc. Is that Jim Cook there on the left? What the hell is he doing in Toronto. I don't recognize the comrade right back of him, nor the comrade below Dave. Our apartment is very bare at 225. A couple of weeks ago I went out and bought some secondhand magazines that had some reproductions in them and have made a bit of a gallery. I have never gone for putting up posters in my room-- posters of necessity lack subtlety--besides I figure I don't need to be hopped up all the time. But I have put that poster along with the one of our U of T comrades coming down the stairs at Hart House right in front of me when I wake up. And when you see that Dale Ritch fellow give him shit on my behalf. I saw him in the hall before I left. I felt I knew him but I did not recognize him. He always wore his hair short didn't he. He looks totally different. In fact I was looking forward to seeing him and talking to him about his experience in LA--and there he was--we hardly noted. He probably was waiting for me to make the moves of real recognition so make it a point of giving him shit for me. Vic Hugh who knows him well thinks he is a really talented guy. Why don't we give him some extra pushes, responsibilities. As you know this is a problem in the youth. New comrades tend to be overwaded--particularly the best and we have a hard time to get to know them--which we must make a particular effort to do to see really who is who. I was myself pushed and shoved by others--you have no idea how modest I was. And you have a bit of an idea how many of the pushy types turn out to be duds.

And how are all our personnel changes working out. An excellent little item about Carole. I see Joe was down in the Maritimes. I gather that Ellie is not too much of an impediment--and that he is bouncing. And Kate

how is she making out with this big influx of very young comrades. What is this I hear about Liz moving into Women's Lib and not ?? I can never remember her name for some reason--the girl going with Harry. Since you were all so full of priase of her it worries me a bit. Harry sooner or later undoes all that he does. Of course Liz is a very capable comrades--but she strikes me as lacking in flexibility, not so bad of course when we have lots of flexible comrades working with her. Has she got her teaching certificate. I understand that sometimes you can get this with one year and while I am all for comrades cutting out and into the movement it is to be considered.

I hope that the comrades are thinking about our summer work. We need something big bold and dramatic--like Oberlin, like the SWP convention. A really big bold educational action. ~~Edmonton~~ We need to make the main decision now so our papers start playing it up, getting it known so people can take it into account for their summer plans.

It has to be a big educational experience. So we not only assimilate the hundreds who we will be recruiting in the next two or three months but so we round out the face we are now shaping--action---with ideas. You recall when we were talking about a theoretical journal one of the ideas is that now our movement has to establish itself as the Marxist movement. We can feature me just back from Europe--we should invite George Novack possibly--or a leading woman educationalist such as Evelyn. This has to be planned now.

Where should it be. I don't think it can be held at the camp as I doubt that we could cope with it. You have to have real kitchens equipment, cooks much more space, facilities as it will be big. My impression is that you have to hold it in say Peterboro---a campus which is right in a summer resort area--not too far from Toronto. Can't be held in BC now that the movements real base is shifting dramatically to the Prairies and the East. These moves also have to be made at once. The more I think about Peterboro the better I like it. It must be a beautiful campus and probably it is available on a contract basis.

Incidentally here is a situation where a comrade like Ellie can make a contribution. Although I see nothing by her in the paper.

Yes, this issue of YS is excellent. Strikes me as the best yet. The front page cartoon is excellent. Looks like we have a real find here if it is the same people who did the last. Look after them--we need them badly. Makes a qualitatively better appearance. The color is superb. Why don't we give recognition on edit page.

The whole paper is very good. Some warnings very good. I see it was a fine move despite all Kitchener doubts about letting go in Guelph...things are really moving there. Those two pages give a real feel of a movement--Orillia, Winnipeg and Newmarket, despite its touches of moralism.

Colleen's article is excellent--trouble is it didn't get the right play--with that single line graphic--but the article is really good. George outdid himself in Vietnam. The student round-up with the splendid showings is really impressive.

We now have to learn how to use those offices. You know we really have shown much skill or insight so far--Brandon is a notable situation--where we control the paper and as you know were able to re-orient that seminar. We have to really thrash this matter out...maybe even hold a conference of our elected people the very next holiday weekend in say some mid-way point like Winnipeg. We have to learn how to use those posts with skill so we get all that is possible without their becoming a one shot affair. We will have to be real politicians--

with and

This can be a big experience for the student movement--having some officers who are leaders but who know how to go forward ~~without~~ developing a democratically operated--soviet--like--student movement. We have never had this opportunity before. We have a big challenge to make this not a fluke but part of a rising and developing process of student-faculty control of the universities. It needs our fullest attention. What authority, what facilities are available to a present and a ombudswoman and the Champlain sweep..can they take anyone on staff--say of the student paper. ~~Was~~ A leader comrade has to really move in behind these specific opportunities....we can make these comrades cross-Canada student leaders--or let them be broken.

A few incidentals re the paper--Ian has to find some way of tie-ing in page 2. There are many ways--~~even~~ but as it is now it is a shapeless mess--and the edit is very good. --so with the Trudeau cartoon, Why is Vancouver in the address column not listed at Granville --hope it is some distinctly temporary problem--look like hell. I see Fleming didn't know about Britain in Vietnam--see a book review that I sent in which he shrewly as Viet man would have seen. Layout could have been better pages 6 --7 as you probably know as well as I. Joe's letter to Trudeau should have been given far more prominence. Ian's article is really good although I don't get the line--"Nationalization is too expensive they (the present ruler say...." How come we had no one from PEI at the Atlantic conference--you know there were a year or so ago some excellent actions and people at I campuses--Gus T met them several years ago

But there is one thing missing in the YS----CONTROVERSY--the most stimulating educational method. In the last issue you had an excellent letter that should have been taken up this issue--and it is still not too late. I mentioned it to you in my previous note. And you had the other item by Larue Lange which I think also should have been answered. We should answer Cheri although it is not as interesting and as important as the other two. I think you should still consider answering those in the previous issue--you can synthesize the issue

Look through the issue and you will see that while it is educational it is not formally so. There is no specific educational article which one comes away from feeling that Ah now I know

affectionately

Ross

The demos on Vietnam are going to be the biggest ever. Therefore both our papers have to do a real job on this question. I assume that we are moving in in all kinds of ways to help this biggest ever process. But what are we to leave these young people with. Some big project like our summer action. But something really substantial on Vietnam and imperialism and capitalism. ~~xxxxxx~~ And we have to hit Trudeau. I see that ~~xxxx~~ the chief of the Nuremberg Trials has written a most important book on war guilt. Trudeau only supplied the wags. This has to be really worked out on all levels of our press. And we really have to sell.

April 4, 1971

Dowson Phone Richard
Dear Ruth and Lois

Yes, it sounds good to me. May 25 should be the nicest time of the year here in Belgium. I have come across a Michelin guide here in the office... for this entire area. Excellent road guides, recommended eating places, sights tours, and even trips worked out 3 days in Belgium, 4 in Holland etc. There are two ~~xxx~~ sleeping bags here in first class shape with sheet inserts. I have washed and we can be completely independent of everything. I have taken the dates down in my calendar book and will meet you at the airport on the 25th. I am very doubtful that I will be in London when you arrive in Europe, but you should phone Al and Connie either at their office or at their home when you arrive--they will know where I am. Here is the information; Pathfinder Books 28 Poland Street 734-8915--this is right in the center of London, right at Oxford Circus where you will pass if you are doing any sightseeing of London at all. They are on the third floor, possibly as Leader Books, but they are changing the name to Pathfinder. Their home phonenummer is 674 6984. They will have been back a week from their holiday in Lebanon with her daughter and husband

The bundle of papers arrived a couple of days ago. It was very good to get them despite their terribly high price. I forthwithrightly made a whole series of proposals to the youth and league. As you know there is no Canadian news in the papers here of any importance whatsoever. I get The Times, The Guardian, sometimes the International Herald Tribune and Le Monde. These are supposed to be the best papers in the world (not counting the NY Times) --particularly Le Monde. Well I have been following world events very closely ---Pakistan, Vietnam, Argentina. And those weekend editions supplied information on these generally established news spots which was as good if not superior to these other papers of world repute. And of course there we were making the news. I opened up the Star Metro News front page and the big photo at the top covering the York University hassle over the sudden imposition of exams 5 columns shows our Ken Wolfson and Terry? talking it out with the principal. I am now convinced -anyone who wants to keep generally in touch should subscribe to Intercontinental to which I have been supplying news.

Because of the terrible cost however I think you should prune the papers out. Obviously the Saturday issues are best with their roundup features. But on the GM why not eliminate the Sports, Entertainment and Travel sections also the Business section except for the front couple of pages. You more or less did this with the Star but might as well with the GM

Since Spring -sun and greengrass has not come to Belgium I went to it in Turin Italy last weekend. Convinced myself again that the Alps have nothing on the Rockies. I attended two full day meetings but in passing saw a bit of Turin surrounded by snow capped Alps with its beautiful squares. The tourists were already running

I got a really sharp letter from Anne Dowson the other day

Glad to hear all is well at the camp. I suggested to Vic that a meeting should be called of all owners, that he must get the survey out of Paul's hands into the owners hands and discussed some of this summer's projects. I haven't heard from him. Probably convinced that he cannot write.

Has Joyce moved into Womens Liberation? She could make a really big contribution. But what are we going to do with Jimmy?

April 7, 1971

Montreal

Dear Manon;

I got your wire a few minutes ago to the effect that you are arriving here on April 19th

I take it from that that John managed to contact you and in some way raise my queries. Of course it would be good to see you right now or tomorrow morning at 950 at the airport. But what I was worried about was the duration of your stay. The price of flights that allow you 30 days or 45 days is qualitatively ~~was~~ less than the open ones. My 45 day fare when it expired on April 4th was worth cash value \$27.00. Yet a regular single is going to cost me over \$200.

When I got your note announcing your arrival on April 9th--after I planned what kind of corsage I would meet you with at the airport I counted through the calendar--first 30 days and then 45 days. And I saw immediately that you couldn't, arriving on the 9th, cover the French congress even with a 45 day ticket. And after all the French congress is the big event here in Europe for us. I couldn't see you with our great shortage of funds paying regular open fare so I concluded that you might not have got my message that the congress is no longer on April 10--11 but on May 30 --31

At anyrate I now have your message and I will be looking forward to meeting you at the airport on the 19th. By then the weather should be much nicer. Spring is far from here yet in Belgium but by the 19th and the rest of your stay here and in France it should be very beautiful. Our apartment which has a beautiful front window and balcony will be not only warm but nice and bright too. Besides we have a couple of bicycles--we could go out into the immediate countryside with them

Art has not replied to my long letter to him about the situation there. I have received more correspondence from John S, John R and Jackie with which I am in substantial agreement. I am glad to see this date leaves you in Montreal for the enlarged PC meeting, where you will be able to participate in what I hope will be the correct resolution of the problem at this stage.

I hope this note finds Alan moving in the impressive way that he was when I was last in Montreal.and Andre, Jean fully in the struggle--joined by your sister.

anticipating your arrival

Ross

April 8, 1971

R
Dear John and John

Good I got a wire last nte from Manon--she has postponed coming until April 19th--a 45 day excursion will then take her into the French congress.

A lot of little details that I should clear away first

I havent received a copy of For an Independent and Socialist Quebec yet. I assume that it has appeared. For the consideration of the publications committee....for a longtime I have been of the opinion that we should publish the major documents of the Third International. We can make money from them I am quite convinced. And of course they are invaluable from the point of view of our educational requirements besides tending to continue to establish us as the continuators of the Leninist tradition. We could grab the monopoly(sic) fairly easily and cheaply. I figure that we would publish the first three congresses. ..anyway. Each one makes just a nice pamphlet. So we could start off now with one of them--then add the others when we have the funds and time. I think that from a strict immediate educational point of view the IIInd Congress is the best to start with. Samona Savelli have put out all three--vol 2 in a format quite a bit smaller than we would publish it makes just over ~~100~~ 125 pages. It would contain the key resolutions---on parliamentarism, on the national question, a document on the agrarian question, on the trade union question, not to speak of the famous 21 points of admission etc. If I am not mistaken the English edition that I have is in good shape and I hope that it is of such a format that we could shoot their type--which makes it all the more authentic. We do not need a lot of things ~~which~~ that are included in that edition--statements of the various sections etc. Jacquie will find my copy easily

Our press is weak in polemics --one of the best educational techniques. The Lambertist magazine has a major article on Quebec. I am sending it under separate cover. I think we should consider taking it up. The Healyites are probably selling it in Quebec. Better still of course would be if they publish something of their own. It is not just a matter of doing them in--and they are Trotskyism on McGill--but educating all kinds of persons on what seems on the surface to have some Marxist truths in it.

All the leading women's liberation activists must read Chatelaine---and of course the editors of our press. The latest issue March /71 has a series of articles of importance. Edit on Day nurseries. Major article on the government's Status of Women in Canada and another major article on How the trade unions let women down. Let's get a sub so we don't overlook it. I thought I would scan the Ryerson book the other day for a couple of incidents of early class conflict--working class. I have ended up almost rereading it. I am even more impressed than I was before by this book. Incidentally he has some excellent quotes sustaining my view that the British saw Canada most useful as a tool to curb the developing American Revolution(remember many challenged that when I wrote that in the Canada-US Relations). But most interesting for right now are incidents on the role of women in Canadian history. He has some material on both the Indian and Eskimo matriarchy--and we can add to this very important material. I recall a

some recent clippings about the Brantford matriarchy. There is some really excellent material on page 211 showing how Quebecois women were the main forces that solidarized with the American Revolution. I think that Women's Liberation should start to do some real research on Canada--and it doesn't start of course with the suffragette movement--with the whites even. Our comrades don't have to do it--although it would be good if one of us headed a team that the Toronto movement would strike off. I am sure that there are women who are coming around who want to know the truth and are prepared to dig for it. If we are going to do anything about Florence Custance for instance (as a pioneer communist) we have to start now. She might still even be alive in Montreal--who knows. Why don't we interview Sylvia Spring G.M. Sat March 27

I wonder if we have Marlie Ritchie's new address in Australia--check around --even Harry P-- I am supposed to be working the Australian area which is going to be important possibly at the coming World Congress. She may be of considerable aid. Possibly you know the Canadins loom big there now. Hugh Dowson will remember a fellow by name Roger Barnes who we tried to recruit over the years--worked with Hugh and was around Ken Raisen ~~xxxxxx~~. He prints their excellent paper Direct Action and is supposed to be the man behind the scenes.

Incidentally why doesn't Labor Challenge and La Lutte write up La Raza. The chicanos seem to me to be in the vanguard of national groupings on a world scale. Quebecois could learn much from them. In this short space of time they are building a party of their own and it isn't Democrat or Republican or PQ either. ~~They are not~~ We shouldn't miss these things.

I took the question of Abd--up the other day here. They are very enthusiastic but not to the extent that they would pay his fare. As we talked a little more concrete it seemed obvious to me that we really don't have much--other than contacts--and no really experienced cadre who know how to work. Abd could play a really big role. ..then again. How much does he really know about our ideas, our methods of work, movement building. Before we thrust him into this stew I think we have to really spend some patient time with him involve him in our movement. They are going to be writing him in a matter of days. The idea will be for him to come to England. They of course can put him up. But I think we have to prepare him to come over here and develop so that he can play the role that he probably has in him. The experience could be a disaster so what you do on that end can be of great importance. Let's make a project of this.

A bunch of details of interest. Did you see Kate Millett's excellent attack on the Healy-ite reporters anti-feminist line in Workers Press March 27, also her excellent speech on homosexuality in the Militant April 2. Worth considering running together. Hope we are reviewing the Pelletier book Crie d'Octobre. I see elections are slated for both Alberta and Newfoundland. What are we doing about Newfoundland. Harry wants to pull his brother Gordon out which is probably personally correct. What are the Martimiers going to do about NFLD? We should contact the Alberta comrades--Coral--and see if it is possible for us to run any candidates. Since for the next period we probably won't challenge the NDP it is these fringe provinces where we have the possibility of running and getting this type of propaganda and publicity.

I see there is going to be a big housing conference in May where our Charles Street operation can play a big role. A question---Are we recruiting anything from this big action a comrade of ours is leading--you know we have actually let Wayne go on his own. Look at the big staff--youth and league and no one has time to cultivate, to follow him--a national figure ?? And to hell with the staff --we have one hundred people in Toronto or more.

There are several other matters of this type but thinking it over I should stop. It is not for me away over here to tell or suggest to you to do this and that--don't miss an opportunity here and so forth and so on. As I have told others who came to me on this and that and the other thing--we don't need idea men---we need people who will carry things through. I think we have a bigger problem --because there is no question we have comrades with ideas. What we are short of is party -builders even within our cadre. We don't take much time and energy to train and develop persons who come to our movement who are already in our movement. We tend to have a group of stars. For instance look how we let Zane get overwhelmed on that class he was assigned and then instead of moving someone in behind him and raising him up to the challenge which he is more than capable of meeting --we dumped him and replaced him with Vern O. Of course it is a pleasure to read John R's letters as financial drive director--probably no one else could do so well. But isn't the whole thing absurd. Why couldn't we have struck someone off --some promising young enthusiastic comrade to take this on---and John Riddell be right there in the background approving of the letter, following the campaign but from behind the scenes as advisor, mentor of some new elements. When the campaign is over --oh yes John did an excellent job but where are we. Newt campaign coming up I nominate John Riddell--except he may well be in Montreal, or Europe. We don't spend any time to train cadre--other than in formal classes with words neither on the youth plain or the league. Possibly it is an legacy from me. Boan doesn't have this concept and the youth leadership for some period was in many ways a clique as you will remember from the crisis we had around Joe. We don't have it around the paper. ..although it is obvious that we have people who can write and who can learn our ideas. Dick's concepts of standards are one of the biggest barriers in this area. As for Art in Montreal. Can anyone explain to me why Andre and Jean H are not in the leading cadre. Do you know how Andre came to us--he is a leader in his own right--but not in the LSO. As for Jean--I have really been impressed. We have to learn how to hand out responsibilities and how to follow them up--how to give ~~and instill~~ leadership and develop leadership in our own movement.

To take up the letter of April 2. Yes--ABD again. Of course he must come here first---and really talk over things as to where he should go from here. But I think I am correct in raising earlier that we should try to keep him in Canada and do some work with him before he comes over here and then accepts an assignment.

The pool hall. Well of course our arguments don't meet. You talk about going into the pool space and I talk about going into the drug store space. A few points for your consideration. But first you know we have to really talk things out amongst ourselves, , , know what we want--before the one persons who we have assigned to do the business starts to talk business with Angel. Or we can have nothing but endless trouble. I don't know who is our rep--probably Hans is best--but you decided.

I do not think the space in the whole back of the pool room is very useful to us

I don't think we need the space that would make any appreciable difference to Angel's rent and the space is quite unattractive. You know what it is like to run through that pool room crowd--for young people and probably most women it is an unfortunate experience. Probably we will have trouble with the city too over there being no windows, there is a toilet problem. I just don't see any merit in it. I think that the pool hall is an all or nothing proposition--we taking it over entirely and then renting out parts of it as office or factory space. As you know I have George and Harry clued right in to put a partition of a moveable character right across our downstairs hall which would give us rooms of a semiprivate character through breaking up the hall. I don't know what we want rooms upstairs for--for whom--~~minimum~~ child care ??? Why do we talk so lightly about a new lease. We have Angel on a lease now backed up by the previous tenant. And why three years. I think what is left of the earlier lease is very good for us--we are close to reconsidering. I don't have any confidence in Angel as a business man which is of some importance--from what I know of him now I would never rent to him unless my back was to the wall. But we now have him--why do we want to get more entangled with him and a three year lease. I wonder where he is getting the \$1,000. He gives me an impression that he goes from day to day--that is his argument about the rent before. How much space are you going to take off his hands and still leave him a pool hall--and when you work it out how much is it going to save him and what actually does it mean in the operation. I don't know where you get moving the CO downstairs generates \$60 a month--that room in the apartment is \$45. The whole thing seems not to me to be work out. And it has to be worked out in relation to the store--which I understand lease expires very shortly

Without the benefit of your collective opinions I would say that the pool hall is all or nothing. And we have him there now and I am for working in that framework--in the line of my previous suggestions about adjustments. You know we have to be firm--his ideas--they are just fantasies--he will grasp at anything which he hopes will get him out of what he sees as a present bind. I just don't understand this new lease stuff. When we couldn't be better leasewise than we are now--unless he blows up everything. Yes, I am convinced the more I think of it that that space having to be approached through that Sally Anne atmosphere is highly undesirable. He would have to straighten up his clientele as I suggested we should try to get him to do anyway--that is a big part of his business problem Yes or No--you can't get around it. Our downstairs hall can be adjusted to solve some of our private room problems. What are you doing about the store? This seems to me to be as equally important if not more important. I think we can get double the rent with modest renovation. Possibly underlying your views on the pool hall which I find hard to grasp is a feeling that we are in a desperate situation--which we possibly transmit to Angel. But in my opinion we are not at all in that position. We want him in for about another year--but if despite all our firm pressures over lease etc. he blows it would not in my opinion be any disaster at all. We could get someone else to take the business or if necessary move now in setting up offices etc.

Yes I think that it would have been very bad and besides quite unproductive for me to have come back. I don't know where I gave the impression that I intended to come back shortly. I recall suggesting that since my cheap return fare was expiring April 4 that we might consider having Art come over here for the period of the French language conventions and then we switching back--but that is all. In a matter such as seemed to be developing the movement has to act, lay down the line and we have a good core of comrades who are qualified to act in the name of the movement since they are actually it.

I see that the line that I very tersely pushed over the phone wires into John ear was substantially the line of his letter that I did not receive for another day. Good.

Of course this is all after the weekend conference and its decisions. But there is no doubt in my mind that Art has to come out of Montreal. The problem is how to carry it off without undermining Art's quite validly established prestige. The sooner the better in my opinion. It doesn't matter at this time where we fit him in. The problem is who to replace him with. It has to be a leading comrades who either has French now or who can pick it up fairly rapidly. John R is the most obvious choice no matter what it does to the rest of the operations. From there we have to really think out a replacement. What leading comrades are articulate in French or who could pick it up rapidly. My first reaction is that there is really no alternative in the light of the importance of Montreal work. But we have alternatives to replace John in the center. The only other mature persons of judgement and experience is John S --how is his French, and or what are his potentials. I don't know Gary's French but I would be hesitant about hitting Vancouver again anyway. Right now I can't think of any of the women comrades who could be thrust into this challenge.

So you decide which John.

In my opinion this is not a long range project. I think we can solve the problem on leadership in Montreal with Alain who is a terrific comrade, with Colleen also very able---and with one or both of Doucette or Jean H. The comrade going in would have that supreme task of building a team there. The material is there (alas for Art). Once that team gets rolling we can pull and must pull the Anglo out

Art is now in the process of undoing all the tremendous work that he has done. How to get him out. Possibly you have solved that problem this weekend. The best would be for him to just come out in the next month and John (?) just go right in. He won't agree on our evaluation of the problem of course and I hope we find some formula. If he won't come out at this time then I am convinced we have to move in on him--but not with John(?)--our knocking him off the payroll setting up an opposition leader etc. It would be best to move someone in there like Joe for a period--possibly it would be only for several months until Art then came out. I would gather Kouri could be in there is a couple of months too.

I am very much concerned about Alan--how he comes out of all this. Let's not worry about Manon--she will be here in another week.

If John R ends up going then I think we should have me come out of here sometime around May 31--cut my stay by about two months. Things will be tapering off here anyway and August is closing up month here. I think we can get a couple of issues of the paper off without me--and maybe Vern will be in operat

Lots more but

comradely

Ross

April 15, 1971

Dear John; *R*

Of course I am waiting in high anticipation for word on the Montreal ~~situation~~ situation. But I have the enclosed item on Germany and a note for Jeff and Labor Challenge came in this morning--so I am writing now. Joe H just came in so I will in all probability be a bit more tied up so I am writing now

A good issue. In general, I am just a little worried about our Vietnam coverage. I take it we will have the next issue for the demos. I hope you are considering doing something like the American comrades have been doing ---a sort of history of the anti war movement--a record of Canadian complicity I think that the coverage this issue is too limited and of course has little educational character. I think we could have cut our Quebec coverage down to have allowed this. But it is a good issue

One of the best things about this issue is Socialists and Women's Liberation. It strikes me as a very well written statement--thought out--sensitive and educational. Watch that author. 2th column it would have been well if we had emphasized this system of oppression--the capitalist system of oppression--and in the 4th column-- "by a handful of-----capitalists--who in their overwhelming majority are men " or something to that effect.

But from front to back

cover is good but strikes me as a little too open this time--too bad we could not have made a sort of photomontage--- Trudeau --or Bourassa Drapeau imposing the troops . Pictures of troops are getting pretty common.

I feel a little uncomfortable with the lead --Laos rout builds war protest. It looks like we are looking for something to happen to call the masses to their responsibility. For instance the opposition press could write Nixon's table tennis team to China undercuts anti-war protest. I am not even sure that the rout does build the war protest. . Many things could be said. ---I don't particularly like it---but of course nothing serious

Don't get the subhead in The true north--And this is a Canadian exhibition. All I get from that incident is that there has been such a degeneration that there just are no standards of art or creativity at all.

The edit---who is the hell is Franz Kafka---ask around--strikes me as a bit of snobbery. Of course we defend all the victims of Anglo-Canadian imperialism --including Rose. I would oppose any retreat from principle. But here and in some previous issues it seems to me we go out of our way to put all the victims in the same boat. However didn't Rose when charged with murder yell out boastfully --execution . Isn't there a little difference here between those who are framed of the whole cloth and those who proclaim their execution of Laporte. If you put them all in the same level--you demand the highest consciousness of what the whole thing is about. If you really handle the Chartrands and Lemieux's and Young's you bring understanding for the Rose's

Take a look at the Quebec coverage, cover--edit--womens lib--3 full page 4 full page 5 in two articles article 6.

Somewhat overdone it seems to me. For our comrades it is fine--they have some understanding of the importance of the Quebec struggle--but what about those we are trying to educate through our press

The interview is excellent

So is Dick's article on the investigation and Pelletier's book. Excellent But I think that the article is too heavily slanted to Quebec--the war measures act was imposed on all Canada--even though it was designed to decapitate the Quebec left. What we want to do is to expose the sham of bourgeois democracy--the destruction of all our democratic rights by a simple cabinet order. I would tend to think that Golden's book does this in part. I certainly think that the commission of enquiry should be very heavily centered this way. The fact that the War Measures Act was not enforced in any really drastic sense in the rest of Canada (although there were incidents) isn't the question. It was imposed on all of Canada and it reveals the nature of the system --the Canadian ~~system~~ capitalist system

It would be very good if Dick as a prominent journalist on Quebec could get on the Commission of Enquiry--we want a Trotskyist on it--and of course Gus isn't one, can't be one. Why are all the dates so suddenly rushed--haven't had a press conference yet I think I read somewhere but it is all going to be climaxed by July 9th weekend. I don't get the rush--I think we want to take it into the fall so we can hit the campuses etc. We are coming into the worst time of the year. I don't get it. We need time to build this up--and from where I sit I can't see why it should be such a steamrollered operation. There is so much to do for a really serious project--for us to get all there is in this. I hope you or John S are in constant contact with Helmut--he needs aid and advice. In fact it would be good if we could put another capable comrade working full time on this operation to make it really go places.

Good to see the trade union material. I am a little uneasy about the London conference. ...and the manifesto that came out of it. Perhaps it is just what you quoted out of it. Is that all it had to say--seize the factories. Such a demand presented so baldly doesn't seem to me to take much account of the level of experience and consciousness of the Canadian workers. ~~Probably~~ Did they not frame any other demands to meet the unemployed crisis? Probably we should have given it considerable more space so we could have allowed the development of ideas.

If you have time it might be interesting to compare your cuts of my article with ~~the~~ Intercontinental's cuts.

Joan's article is excellent--clear and simple.

will write immediately upon receipt of your Quebec letter

Ross

April 15, 1971

Toronto

Dear Jeff; (h)2

~~Whatdayamean~~ whatdayamean---that you are the same as always!
Here it almost spring. The first beautiful day here in Brussels.
The sun is warm--the trees are becoming wrapped in a green haze.
And the future is ours. We saved you from teaching latin declensions
didn't we ! And do I not understand that you are the chief distributor
of the writings of Leon Trotsky---such an honour--can hardly help but feel
that some of the greatness envelops you

Yes, I thought that the Czech demo was just what we needed. I am sure
it made our brand of socialism much more meaningful to many of the youth a
who are now watching us---saw your photo. But who is this MacInnis who is
pushing you around. The Mintz photo of the Chartrand meeting is excellent.

But to the Cuba mailing question. Pathfinder is supposed to send us
10 copies of each of its publications. Coral will show you the list of
persons who get Intercontinental. I think that there are about 20.many
of them important institutions--depts of philosophy etc etc. What I do is
spread the books around a selection that I make from that list

Hope you can adjust in time for the big sales of April 24

as always--but not the same--ever
chaging--I hope for the better for the
revolution

Ross

April 23, 1971

Dear Joe; (2)(y)2

This morning I went downstairs and found the first parcel of books that I mailed from Canada very early in January have arrived. Joe H left yesterday after a week's stay and I shoved Manon off on the express train to Zurich--Rome, Florence, Lausanne--she won't be back here until the 6 or 7th of May. So I am going to pick up the history now in a serious way.

But a few words about the present. I have heard that we are discussing about your going to Ottawa. And I want to put in a dissenting vote which I am hoping, if it is largely being decided on the youth plane, that you will cast

I am very much against your ~~going~~ leaving the center--yes, that is how it has to be written--not going to Ottawa but leaving the center. I gather we have convinced Bert to leave Ottawa and it is a matter of a strong replacement that will get things moving again. And of course Ottawa is attractive. After all Hull is next door and we have real possibilities of doing something there--your French would become expert--and all leading comrades have to not only hear but should be able to express themselves in French. Ok--so you fit the bill. But there are also other comrades--look around.

I am wondering if your and Ellie's break-up has anything to do with it. A change of venue. ..the establishment of personal-political relationships on a totally new basis...a new beginning on the personal plane. It would be quite understandable for you to think in these terms

But if you are I think you are all wrong.

You are now an established leader in the youth--and I am not at all thinking about your being executive secretary of the YS/LJS--you are a leader in our movement on a pan-Canadian scale and in a sense on an international scale. How can you be that and further develop on the most favorable basis and be outside the center--~~and~~ be in Ottawa? Impossible.

As you well know we are only in the early stages of building a ~~new~~ leadership for the forces that we are beginning to attract. It is my considered opinion that along with Carole, Jacquie and all too few others you have a key role to play in this crucial task.

I am looking forward both politically and personally to seeing you in Toronto upon my return.

warmest regards

Ross

April 23, 1971

Mike Mill (Michael Mill, Mtl)
Manon Leger, Mtl

Dear John and John;

Went to the airport with Joe yesterday noon and then got Manon onto the Zurich express around three---attended the meeting that JGS organized for Tarique Ali up at the university and here it is 2 o'clock on Friday--the first time in some period that I have had an opportunity to sit down and write.

Good to get the note on Mike's trip over here. Yes it was a highly conspiratorial action. No word of it got to me although I have seen everyone since his trip --haven't been to Paris but Pierre and Sandor were here for the United Secretariat meeting, ~~Tariq~~ Tariq wasn't here but Iphali, the Ceylonese was as was Pat---and not one word was said to me. Of course anyone with experience would know that such a visit would leak out sooner or later but naively they are even acting as conspirators. I told various comrades that I would probably go to England this weekend--Ernest told me that the bureau meeting would be Wednesday so I said of course I will be back in time. But when I turned up yesterday at the headquarters and told Vergeat that I did not think I would be leaving he immediately told me that the meeting was changed by Ernest to Tuesday, that he is going to Paris but would be here by then. Are they cooking up anything for Tuesday ~~when they~~ thought I would be away? I doubt it very much.

Well I raised the matter with Uphali. He is a Ceylonese who just recently joined the IMG--was in Healy's outfit for a period. I have a very poor impression of him. In passing I ~~mentioned~~ I asked him if he had met a Canadian comrade who I understood was in England for a short period. He said oh yes, but had not had a chance to talk with him but no doubt Tariq had spent some time with him. On the evening of the 21st Joe and I took Manon up to see Ernest and Gisela. Ernest involved Manon in a conversation along lines which that I am as competent if not more competent. I think I noted in a Dear Joe and Barry letter that he has never ever taken out time to have a discussion with me on any level of importance--except for one bureau meeting that didn't come off where we had a hassle on Britain. He has never enquired about the Canadian movement, what I think of the US situation the SWP etc etc. So the conversation which for reasons she did not explain to me Manon did not feel comfortable about struck me as highly amusing. At anyrate while he was looking for a book I mentioned in passing that I understood that Mike Mill had passed through Bruxelles--that you had told me. He expressed surprise---hadn't the Parisian comrades told me. Then he said that he had got a phone call from Mike and went down and met him in the station where he had had a short discussion. He did not offer anything on the subject of the conversation ~~and~~ I said nothing further and he was apparently happy to let the question drop. If Mike had not volunteered that he had been in Bruxelles and London we would probably have never known---probably something would have been said ultimately in Paris.

Not only has Mike not received a letter from Bala calling for demos here there and everywhere but no one else has either--there is no such letter. At the turn of events in Ceylon we got a wire here telling Vergeat not to come and a letter would follow. Subsequently --about 10 days later a letter arrived which I read and which I gather was received by ICP. They will no doubt be publishing part of it and we should take our lead from it. Since

then there has been one other letter received--Ernest showed it to Joe and I when we visited with Manon on the 21st...three days after you wrote your letter to me about Mike. This is a very cryptic letter as between members of a family--the main point of which is to tell us that he has not been arrested--although of course as you know there is a curfew and very limited freedom of movement. Of course it does not call for any action. And as you will have noted the United Secretariat also does not call for actions in Canada or elsewhere. There have been none here in Europe--They wanted Uphali to go on a money raising speaking tour of the US which Joe scotched because of the unfavorable time of year, from this point of view.

There is no information here on Ceylon other than what is gleaned in primarily the British capitalist press which they are all now following with great avidity. It would seem that the JVP (Peoples Liberation Movement) is of some scope and I would gather that it is not at all excluded that there might come out of it some kind of guerrilla movement. Of course you can imagine how they here interpret everything. Of course they are saying nothing about the fact that our movement missed this entire expression of the youth radicalization in Ceylon and are grabbing onto the fact that a short while ago we held a common meeting with them in Ceylon. Bala apparently heard of this movement when some of his union members started to join it. I am not at all sure what kind of relations our comrade actually formed with them. In the mimeographed information sheet that you have received along with the minutes etc there is some confusion I gather. Vergeat was translating this into the French for Royce and he said that there was an inaccuracy. In the process of this conversation (Uphali was here too as author) I am doubtful if any serious kind of front of any continuing character was formed with them which I gather the statement says (don't have a copy here) but that that meeting was a one shot affair. But as we know from previous reports the LSSP(R) is pretty much a one man operation--with the one man overwhelmed by his union responsibilities. Vergeat was saying the other day about Bala's concern about his security and how he is carefully grooming a fellow to fill his shoes--who turns out not to be a LSSP(R)er.

It would be good to get all the information from Mike you can get. I wouldn't bother arguing with him--using information that I have sent you against his--be affable--find out what he has to say. We don't need to hold any demos on Ceylon at this time. In fact I gather even in England there are a great many Pakistani's and Bengalese with their figure of Tariq the IMG is holding no demos on Bengal. They are being carried by Bengalese and Pakistani probably with our participation--although in all the reports of them in the British press I never see Tariq's name appear. I asked him yesterday about the paper he put out in his language--they do not have any copies of any recent vintage and are only thinking of putting something out in the future.

Tariq's meeting here last night was only attended by a hundred people and they brought in persons from Liege and Ghent--and it was low key-ed certainly not indignant or action oriented.

Yes we do not need to pay any attention to Mike. I am not interested in hearing him sound off at a plenum. Let him put a document into the discussion which we will circulate.

Incidentally Joe had a lengthy discussion with Gisela on the world congress assignments and Gisela told Joe that they hope that minority tendencies will have representation at the world congress. ...I suppose Mike. But it also means the British tendency too. I see no objection except in light of the fact that the minority amounts to almost nothing we won't pay his way--

This time we should consider sending Manon or Jean Herivault--it will be

Tran Newblgging?

Of course the Montreal discussion will be interesting. We should be able to effectively hit into the minority on a very educational plane. Joe brought over a really hefty reply to the Ernest-~~Gisela~~-Livio documents. Giseal was translating it so I was only able to get a glance at it. Really does a job on them --using the Canadian experience--the Mole article and Taric's TV broadcast. It should be available very shortly--we should promote discussion on it on a big scale.

But to take a first stab about the important developments and problems in Canada. I will be rereading all the letters tonight---yours and Jacques --havent received anything from Art.

And a few words on things that you may well be already taking action on.

Joan---yes she cannot be organizer of the Toronto branch--I think all of us have been aware of it for sometime--but very loyally when no one else offered to take on this key responsibility she took it again. We need to relieve here of this and I cannot think of anyone who is more qualified than John S. I am sure everyone will be all for it. I am opposed to Joan going into Crescent...or the Vanguard bookstore. We have to move other ways to solve these projects.

I think we have to have a couple of leading comrades open up a fraternal talk with Joan. Jacques suggests that she should move in on the Edmonton situation and release Wendy who hasn't probably had the opportunity to develop as she should. That should be very seriously considered. And I have another proposition that should be considered....that Joan should come to England. It is hard to see where we are going there--signes point to the IMG leadership expelling leading tendency comrades--a split. The main responsibility for everything falls there on Connie--and it is altogether too much. The situation has to be strengthened. Perhaps Joan would really like to move back into her own country. I think we need to have a couple of discussions--no decisions right away. Perhaps Joan would like to come over for the IMG conference on June 19 and 20...and look things over. There are many problems--one of them Bob and her relations with him. My impression is that they are very much attached to one another--then again I might be quite wrong. We need to open up the discussion with her. I am quite convinced that Crescent and Vanguard books are not for her. She is able to make a bigger contribution and in my opinion her methods of work are not too positive for these two projects.

Now as to my schedule here. I gave Jacques's letter on Montreal, John's lengthy letter and John S's shorter letter to Joe to read. He did not say much but I told him about my impressions of Art's frame of mind and a bit about the operation of the paper with Dick and his methods. The only conclusion I think one could draw is that I should return to Toronto as soon as possible ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I will have to reread your letters but I have the impression that John R. is not moving for a few weeks and that there is going to be an overlap--John R.- Art Y --period I see from John S's letter that the branch conference is not till mid May. At anyrate I suggested to Joe that I should pull out after the Ligue Communiste convention--in the first week in June. ~~xxxxxx~~---3 1/2 months stay in our 6 month contract.

He thinks that it is very important that I should stay here for the IMG conference ~~33~~---June 19 -20th---I see that there is a United Secretariat meeting on the 26-27 and in all probability they would want to extend it for that week so Al Connie and the south with us would talk things over.

Well what do you think.

I am very hesitant to make a stand. There is no question that the IMG

and a Pan-Canadian leader to boot--but you cant be a pan-Canadian leader from Ottawa. I do not see the crisis that would justify moving back in this way. There are no doubt about it many leading and promising comrades who we could send into Ottawa. After all Montreal is only four hours away or less by bus...so that constant help from the strong Quebec operation is instantly available.

I think that it is excellent that Phil(Vancouver) goes to Hamilton ---I am a little uneasy about Stu--of course I would gather he still holds his job down with Hugh, which is important, even though living in Hamilton. I

I am going to close off here and get the whole thing into Friday's mail so that you have the advantage of the weekend in transit . Will continue tomorrow.

comradely

Ross

Rec'd 05 Review
- edit -

(CANNADA) Art Gray - P. 2

April 24, 1971

Dear John and John;

Last night I went through your recent letters to make sure that I missed nothing

Yes John R I mentioned to Ernest that your mother had an opportunity to go to Africa and did he think that there was anything such a sympathizer could do of use to us. He suggested she drop into Nigeria to see a fellow there but it is to laugh. The sad fact is that we really do not have anything in Africa—certainly no one who your mother could help us with in anyway. Too bad.

Yes I think that the \$40 is fine to the international. Dont send any more money for Bengal. We are one of the few sections that has come through so far. In fact at that meeting we looked good indeed—the of the few who paid in full on the European literature fund drive too. If we have any more coming in for Bengal hold it, put it aside for the next appeal. Of course we already have the World Congress fund appeal, upon us.

I had a talk with Joe H about it is following a detailed discussion he had with Gisela. They have not yet accepted the suggested quota. ~~They~~ They dont agree with the suggested 5 delegates coming. They intend to send eight not counting the youth. That would raise their travel costs to 4,000 If their contribution to the travel pool remained as suggested at \$6000 that means that their total cost would be 10,000 . That makes them a way higher than anybody including the French who have accepted the \$7,900 Joe has made no commitment. They may well suggest that the \$6,000 be dropped a couple of thousand so their total cost would be something like the French around \$8,000

I think that our two is not adequate. After all we have a unique national problem which we certainly want represented—I think we should say we want to send three persons. I gather since they put \$800 for travel that they estimate airfare from Canada is cheaper than US (\$500) which it is not. That three is not counting our youth either. I think we should suggest something like 1,450 total with \$250 going to the travel pool. That is a considerable amount more than Britain or Germany which claim the same membership are going to pay in total. We can justify that cut in the travel pool contribution down from 500 on the basis that we feel that there is no justification for \$1,000 going to the Philippines where there are in actuality only two comrades one of them a visiting Canadian. There are other cases like Algeria, ~~Nigeria~~ you think that we can raise 1,450 for the congress? Give us your opinion as soon as possible then we can let them know. There are several phonies in the list—besides the two mentioned —also Cyprus

Incidentally Gisela mentioned to Joe that they would like to see minorities represented—meaning I suppose their recent visitor Mike Mill. Well we have no objection to his coming over—paying his own way in the light of the insignificance of the minority vote at our pan-Canadian convention. That of course opens the door for representation of the British tendency.

No the fact that Art changed his line at the last moment doesn't cause me to change my opinion on the necessity of his coming out at all. I think that he must come out. We should have done it before and we are now able to do it even though it is somewhat disruptive. ~~Art has changed his line~~ Aside from his handling of the minority problem and his clique in my opinion he didn't ever really come to grips with the problem of developing our Quebecois—of giving us a Quebecois leadership. Jean H should have been in there long ago...and I dont understand the stall with Manon's sister. There is the failure to integrate into the leadership one of our top cadre Colleen. He has to come out—and I hope that John R who I feel confident can take Mike in his stride and pull together a Quebecois leadership will be out within a year. This of course is not to in anyway deny Arts

2
I do not understand your comment John R--however correct his judgement may turn out in the end. ???What judgement are you referring to. Surely not the handling of the minority. On this there is no doubt at all in my mind that he is wrong--and doubly wrong because we are in this case handling a minority of international significance...we tended to forget this I think.

Yes I see now you did suggest that Joan move in on the central office. But even though we are short of cadre--if she really enthusiastically agreed I am most in favor of her going to England. After Italy the class struggle in Europe is highest in Britain--in Britain there are more persons who call themselves Trotskyists than anywhere else. My own impression is that the IMG leadership are out to cut out the minority in Britain and we may well be forced with the necessity to begin anew again. This would require some forces--and Joan could make a real contribution. Well you will have to have that real open talk with her.

I am not too sure about Belfonte. A terrific guy but he has real problems--very unstable to move in and play a key role in the Toronto branch. But perhaps some of those problems of his have been solved in my absence. His enthusiasm and energy seems to be so close to the surface--not deep rooted that can continue on in adversity. Is he through school this year. I would like to look a little more deeply into our 70 odd people--and I am thinking in terms of a woman comrade too. Do you think of Kate A as a youth?

I think that the Waterloo affair has to have simultaneous translation. From what I see this is not too big a problem. I feel that this project has to be all Canadian--draw everyone in from Quebec in particular.

Well what kind of offer have we got for the press--you make no mention of this although you go into detail about its moving. Harry S and George Bryant know all about the moving problem--the wall adjustments. If I recall correctly there is no big fuss. What has Harry S done about selling it--what kind of cash offer possibilities are there--cash on the line only.

Yes --we need some very methodical comrade strong comrade to move in on Jeff. Jeff doesn't need a helper--he will only demoralize him or her. He needs a leader to make the contribution he can. Surely we can find such a methodical energetic person.

I will go along with taking some space for the CO and the Edict director in the pool hall. All the dope about selling pool tables I am pretty sure is down in Coral's file with the pool hall account. If it is not there it is in the CO file. You will have to advertise to sell the tables at once. I think all the necessary information is in the file with Coral. You can't move the tables you know--you have to sell the ones right where you want the space.. The back toilet has to remain available for the pool hall use. I think we will have to cut a window or two into the wall--I think we can do this without going through that permit shit. Hope George and Harry are available.

Yes it would be excellent for Vern to move right into the Waterloo project. I hope we can rewrite Gerry Foley's article on Bolivia in the next issue. What a scandal--waiting to organize guerrilla struggle when we actually have soviet forms in existence.

I get the feeling from Art's letter that the comrade didn't even take Mike on on the Red Mole's scandalous line on the Quebec struggle not to speak of his rotten attitude to his own sections financial problems and its really excellent financial record with the international. Hope we can get my letters to him to read over. It would be very good if Mike would write his views down for us--the sooner the better. I can hardly wait for the British item we have been promised. I dropped a note to Pat to egg him on--and at the last meeting he told me we would have their material within a couple of weeks of today's demo. I hope they move in boldly on this matter--before Joe W's document gets out and cautions them--give us their while line. This could be one of the most valuable aspects of the discussion in the world movement. Yes I agree John S we are going to have to challenge comrades with assignments. Where is George A. ...

(all Dawson)

April 24, 1971

Dear Eleanor, Jeanette, and Anne---and Walter who did not write me---and Hugh and Clare

I was delayed in writing an answer to your very nice letters and drawing because I had guests all last week. Joe from United States and Manon from Montreal were with me. Now Joe has gone back and at the same time I saw Manon off on a train to a place called Zurich. From there she is going to Rome, then to Florence, to Lausanne and back here by the 6 or 7th of May. Manon and I will then go to England, then to Paris and back here in time for me to meet Ruth who will land here from Greece. Ruth and I will get a car and drive around Belgium and Holland then she will leave me to go back to see you. If you get a map of Europe you will be able to see where Manon has gone, where I will go with her and then where I will go with Ruth

When I got your Easter bunny, your Easter eggs and deers all the people over here were celebrating what they call Paques. It is a celebration of beginning again, of newness, of cleanness--of Spring. In the windows of the florist where I get the bus they had many little yellow chickens ~~and~~ the trees on my street were bursting out in thousands of green buds and down in the park there were trees with tulips, white ones coming out on the limbs. I guess that is what the little white bunny with pink nose, the te frisky little deer and the eggs which just going to become little yellow balls of fluff mean---that it is Spring--and summer--and holidays are on the way. About time Eh

~~As I am writing this note you will be downtown on the big march telling the Canadian and US government that we want them to stop sending young men with bombs made here in Canada going over across the ocean to Vietnam and dropping them to blow up the homes and kill the men women and children there. I hope that a great many people were at the Toronto meeting with you and that many of them bought our newspapers The Young Socialist and Labor Challenge so they learn about the reasons for that war and will join with us to build a new world where there will be no wars, and everybody will live happy together --with only little fights over eating supper and going to bed and unimportant things like that. People will be going into the streets, carrying banners and selling papers and holding meetings over here too--right across the world--but alas they will not be as big here as in Canada and United States~~ I would imagine that as I am writing this note you will be downtown on the big march telling the Canadian and US government that we want them to stop sending young men with bombs made here in Canada going over across the ocean to Vietnam and dropping them to blow up the homes and kill the men women and children there. I hope that a great many people were at the Toronto meeting with you and that many of them bought our newspapers The Young Socialist and Labor Challenge so they learn about the reasons for that war and will join with us to build a new world where there will be no wars, and everybody will live happy together --with only little fights over eating supper and going to bed and unimportant things like that. People will be going into the streets, carrying banners and selling papers and holding meetings over here too--right across the world--but alas they will not be as big here as in Canada and United States

Have you been down to the cottage yet to see how it got through the winter. Maybe there are some skunks or raccoons or even rabbits living under it perhaps porcupines. It will be great fun planning where to put the garden and how to work out the rooms in the house

I hope you will keep some Brownie cookies for me. And what is this about my bringing back some stamps? All the stamps that I get are just like the ones that you put on the letter to me---Canadian stamps. You have to be in Canada to get stamps from Belgium, Zanzibar and Zambia. And I never get stamps for my letters as the post office weighs them and puts meter marks on them. You will have to think of something else that I should bring back from Belgium---I will be looking around for something nice but it will have to be small because I cannot bring much on the airplane more than the clothes that I brought over--everything more than 40 pounds costs one dollar a pound unless I can stick them behind my ears in my shoe or in my back pocket. We will have to see

with fun and laughter--Rosy

And who was Rosa Luxemburg
she was a little baby girl in 1871 ~~in Poland~~ living with her mother and father in a country called Poland. All the people there were treated by the rulers like the people of Quebec are treated by the big companies and the men that run them and the Canadian government treat the people of Quebec today. Their language, their customs, the way they did things were laughed at and ridiculed by the Russian rulers who had conquered them. AND Rosa and her parents and friends were treated even worse because they were Jews and therefore thought to be closer to animals and evil people who everybody could take advantage of. They were twice oppressed--oppressed by the Russian conquerors because they were Polish--and oppressed by some of the Polish people. On top of that Rosa was a girl and in those days even much more than today girls were not thought as good as boys. She went to school and as she learned about many things she met other young men and women who decided that it was most important that they should fight against the Russian rulers for freedom of Poland. Among some of these young people were persons who called themselves socialists--who thought that there could only be real freedom when the working people who were the majority took over the factories and started to run them and all of society for the common good of everybody. The Czar and his police agents with the help of some Polish people who ~~thought~~ they won over to their side by giving them little favors attacked the students, trying to frighten them into silence, sometimes arresting them and on occasion even killing them. When Rosa was a young woman of 18 years she and her friends learned that the police were going to arrest her so they arranged to smuggle her across the border into Germany under straw in a cart. A priest helped her when she deceived him into believing that she wanted to get baptized so she could marry a non Jewish youth and could not do so in Poland because of her parents opposition. She arrived in Zurich as a young woman of 18 years of age to enroll in university. She studied mathematics and natural science and got a doctorate in political science. Not very many women did that in those days--most got married and had children and were not given the opportunity to develop as humans with ideas. She also got involved in the great discussions that took place among the many people who were forced to take refuge in Switzerland from the Czarist police and other reactionary governments. In 1892 she helped to found the Polish Socialist Party. But the big discussions and the big struggles for socialism were taking place in Germany and she decided that she had to go there so she could make the contribution that she knew she was able. The German government would not let Polish people in to Germany, particularly a socialist and a woman too. So she arranged it so that a young man she knew would pretend he married her and so she got in as a German citizen. She became a great writer and speaker. She was so knowledgeable, and such a leader that despite the fact that she was a woman she became a recognized leader in the socialist movement. Very early she came to understand that there were some people who were leaders in the socialist movement who like Tommy Douglas in the NDP were not really socialists--she warned against them, argued against their ideas as she feared that when things got really difficult they would go over to the government and betray the socialist idea. When the first world war came she proved right--the leaders supported the war against workers of other countries. So she helped to organize opposition among other socialists to oppose the war and to build a new movement that could ~~bring socialism to Germany~~ support the revolution being led by Lenin and Trotsky in Russia and bring socialism to Germany. As this movement started to grow its enemies started to plot against it--they tried to stop it by kidnapping Rosa and killing her. So she died a great martyr in 1919--her life was a great example of courage--and her ideas are still studied by socialists across the world--particularly women to whom she is a great

April 28, 1971

Dear John ^R

Mr. Manon ^L

Phone Art at once and you too should act---send airmail printed matter at once to Leader Books 28 Poland Street, London W1V 3DB England display material for Manon and I at the Commune celebration 15-16th May in Paris--we can use it at the Ligue Communist affair too.

We just need covers of pamphlets or series of recent issues of LC and WV, of Young Socialist--and posters---Art French material. If you do it right away we will get it in time--material for display only--we won't get anything else in time. Manon brought a few Liberation and women's liberation pamphlets along with her. It will be a revelation to most comrades to know that we exist--these Europeans are so provincial.

Got a letter from Art further on Mike--only excuse for having Mike make a report as I can see it is to bring it all out in the open. We seem to have reacted extremely passive in the light of Mike's attack on the movement of which he is a member--however that may only be the tone of the letter. His report seems to be a big thing from a note of the 23rd to Manon and I--mostly Manon;

En passant, on me dit que Ross revient a la fin du mois de mai. Est-ce que cela veut dire qu'il n'assistera pas au congrès de la section britannique? On a tous hâte qu'il revienne, mais ce congrès est sûrement de la plus haute importance pour l'Internationale."

For your information when you come to decide when I should return

comradely Ross

Haven't received the April 24 issue of LC or YS yet--hope you used the book review on Britain in Vietnam--made for this issue. I see neither the ICP nor Militant have used it. When you print it I want to drop the author a line and see if he has any more information on the murder of Ta Tu Thau

Dear Art; (y) — Mtd organizer

April 30, 1971

Finally I have managed to read through Liberation. It is suprising how little time I find. Of course I took the day off with Manon ~~maximum~~. I came back to the apartment last nite after pretty well polishing the article of the European farm question, at about 11 o clock to find the lights on and Manon there. A suprise, not exactly unwelcomed of course, ~~but~~ she was supposed to be in Florence after having spent some time in Rome--and not due back until the 6th of May after speaking in Lausanne.

Manon is off again. It was a beautiful ~~and~~ day today --we wnet on a mystery tour after doing some shopping she wanted to do. We took a street car out to where we did not know but surmised it would take us out to a totally new area--possibly a factory district but not too far from the sight of the World's Fair. It was a very interesting trip and we got back just in time for her to get on the train again and head back into Italy--this time I hope for sure to Milan and then to move out from there for a few days to the East to Venice then back again to go south for a few days to Florecne and then back into Switzerland to speak in Lausanne on the 6th--be here on the 7th so we can both go to the JGS congress in Liege for the 8th and 9th. I have made arrangements for us to go over together to England right after the JGS where I will stay for the week and then go direct to Paris for the Commune affair. Manon will come back to Brussels for a meeting being arranged here on the 13th and then meet me in Paris

The trip even so far has been quite an experience for her. In Belgium ~~source~~ the French language is the t ngue of the petty and not so petty bourgeois and a tongue of national oppresion. Of course we have said very little to anyone about the true state of affairs over here--and it is all quite suprising to her. It appears she got the usual treatment of indifference in Rome. Livio appears to have been completely uninterested in Quebec. ---she was not put up and in fact the few comrades she saw were quite uninterested in her--took her no where, showed her nothing. I think that the language problem--no Italian--even though her French and English is really excellent caused her to shrivel up. It was good she bounced back in here and we had the day together for now she has bounced right back. Before leaving so we could plan her days we decided to phone the Lausanne comrades to find out the date of the meetings they were arranging. They hadn't arranged anything tho of course they had been told by Ernest about her availability. ...and they weren't going to arragne anything until she took the initiative to suggest that she would be very happy to give a short report onto a branch meeting. Oh, they said, ,,well come in then on Thursday which I gather is a regualr meeting nite of our Lausanne operation. While they held a "mass meeting" for Tariq they are holding a meeting in their hall--Tariq half a page ad in La Gauche, Manon a few inches--for Manon. But that is fine

I am hoping that the French comrades take up Manon more seriously--~~that they~~ They talk like they do. Where for us the fact of being a women is all plus, here it would even seem to be negative. She noted that there ~~was~~ was nothing at all at the bookstore here on women's liberation...but then there is nothing ~~about it~~ very much that would bring anyone forward in the store in any respect.

But to get to liberation.

Well of course it is very impressive--color and all. The name strikes me as a good one. Looking over the various articles it struck me as very braod and attractive--if it was weak in any area it was on Canada--ot er than Quebec.

But there is always the problem of space and this can be rectified on a continuing basis. Our anti-war material had only an American angle -- %% No Canadian complicity nothing on the Cdn movement.

Penny's article on the women's liberation dispute is quite valuable. I think it would be very good to bring this to the special attention of Connie. This is the big dispute ~~xxx~~ that the tendency is having in the IMG ~~xxxx~~ I was going to suggest that you should send her a copy bringing this to her attention--but then I will be seeing her and will take her my copy.

%% Now that I think it over how can we write an article on the anti-war movement in the US that completely ignores the crucial role that our American comrades have played in building it --against all the sectarians. Leon's article is a very bad article in my opinion appearing in our press. I see now how wrong it is all down the line-- the anti-war movement is without precedent in world history and see how it is treated. Look it over carefully and you will see how really false it is. We shouldn't have published it and I would enjoy very much arguing it out at any level of the movement. I would like very much to hear your opinion of this article

In the March 1st issue of Labor Challenge I brought to John's attention that our article on a Montreal women's liberation action we called "French language hospitals" to perform abortions. I objected to calling these hospitals dominated by the Catholic hierarchy--run by them, owned and operated by them though financed by public funds--being described as French language. Of course they are francophone hospitals but that has nothing to do with their rotten policy on abortions. By our describing them that way it seems to me we play into the hands of those who identify the French language and Quebec nationalism as being reactionary

I see in the fine Francine article that Liberation calls the hospitals that have the best record on abortions--poor as it is--anglophone. The next paragraph she takes up the influence of the Catholic hierarchy in this matter. Good. But I do not see why we would want to call these other hospitals by the language spoken there. All the more that it makes anglophoney look better. It may be a little awkward to talk of them as hospitals outside of the control of the Catholic hierarchy--but until such time as the fertile minds of the Quebec invent some other formula I am opposed to calling these hospitals anglophone.--and the others francophone. It is the opposite of bringing clarity to the struggle.

Then look at the short note on Ireland. It nowhere talks of the Irish national struggle--doesn't tell you what that raging conflict is about. It describes it as Catholic--that is the only way it describes it.

How come you publish a review of the LSO-LSA congress resolution on women's liberation and you say that it is a document adopted by the congress of the LSO? I don't get it ~~xxxx~~ at all. Hardly an accident. ---I take it.

~~not~~ LSO/LSA

Nous voici---a very important editorial statement. Of course there is a space problem. The third paragraph takes up the international outlook of the paper--but it would have been very good if we had put an added paragraph--perhaps only a few lines about ~~the situation in~~ Canada--English speaking Canada, Canada other than Quebec and what our views are on that--how we see it the struggle there

what allies there are there--our connections with the revolutionary press there(dont have to name it to the PQ) etcetc.

For the socialist independence of Quebec--the article ends up. All slogans present problems---I am not too sure I like that one. Socialism is international--independence is national--they fuse in struggle real independence can only be achieved through socialism--through the socialist revolution in Canada--by a world socialist revolution etc etc. I am strong for ~~an autonomous~~ independent and socialist Quebec. Are we only for independence of Quebec if it is socialist? that slogan may suggest that. Why not toss it around at the edit board. I am not fussy about that phrasing of our view getting accepted without really being thought out. Off hand I am against it--- ~~It even opens up to socialism in one country-- Quebec!~~ I dont think I am reading too much into it. At any rate that can become a slogan in our paper so it must have no ambiguity.

I thought Colleen's article was very valuable. Not sure I like the head--seems to be somewhat partonizing. The head I would have preferred would be along the line that the Quebec struggle finds support among the English Canadianx youth and working class. That is what the Quebecois particularly those in the PQ want to be told by us--that the national question is a class question. I dont think the fact that there are English Canadians in full support of the Quebec independence struggle will in anyway weaken the resolve of the Quebecois to struggle for independence. *sk*

The ending is of course wrong--the English canadian students dont and never ever did think that the exploitation of Quebec is in their interest. They just dont know what the struggle in Quebec is about--they have a feeling for the unity of Canada--a feeling that Quebec is a backwash and that Quebec being part of Canada-anglais is good for the Quebec people. What they have to be shown is that the struggle for Quebec independence is in their interest. The lead is not too sensitive either--I suppose the majority of the people of Quebec support the War Measures Act. An aside ---did you see the recent Canadian poll---49 % of the West think that Quebec should have the right to secede---in Quebec only 30 % and 50% think that it should be prevented from doing so by force if necessary. Just an aside.

I must get Manon to write to you. But she happened to be here when I first started to go through the paper--and the first thing that struck me was the review of the LSA?LSO convention document as a LSO document. --so we got talking- She told me that the minority line on Quebec carries in the LSO. She said oh yes we voted for a pan-Canadian party but that is not really understood or felt among the comrades in Montreal. She said that when young people first come around us they are truly inspired that the LSO and LJS is apart of a pan-Canadian movement. But then Mike gets onto them. We alughed when I asked her how do we manage, ever manage to present the Fourth International--particularly Mike who probably like the LC and DMG leaders want it democratic centralist. Of course it is easy to attribute it to Mike

One other matter---I do not think that we can as you do in Nous ici say d' un Quebec unilingue, independent----- I think that it only leads to all kinds of confusion. Like the sign on the headquarters Ici-francais seulement---which John L thought was exactly what unilinguism means. I always liked John because he is free of cant, pride, says exactly like so few mortals what he thinks--what he believes without guile. Joe Y thought the sign wasn't bad and I was making something out of nothing. Not at all. I think this world unilingue cannot be used like that. Instead of clarity it only leads to confusion. ~~Wamxam~~

So John L. ~~knows~~ what it means--Joe Y is doubtful---all us smart hip characters know exactly what we mean when we use the term. But what do others think it means---I know how the head of the PQ interpreted it --that we were trying to force the English---40 % of the Quebec population and many many of them proletarians--who have to be won to the Quebec struggle--to give up their language--~~French~~ French is the language in Canada of Quebec independence--but English is not the language of Quebec oppression--the language of oppression is capitalism--imperialism that speaks many tongues. *Ernest tells me that there is considerable Belgian capital going into Canada*

I would like very much to hear your opinion of this latter point too. The essence of my opinion is that we have to spell this out---French the language of ~~the~~ work---French the language of instruction in the schools like English is in the public schools in Ontario---every one can understand that and it is very clear then how the language question is the very essence of the Quebec question.

I would like you to pass what merit there is in these comments along to the comrades involved --even the editorial board--as your own opinions --the ones you don't agree with let me know eh

all the best

Ross

But of course the paper is excellent---and the next will be better.

I think that it would be very good to establish immediately our line on the pan-Canadian nature of the struggle---and of course do it time and time again. The paper carried the line of the majority---Mike must know that--the majority of the Canadian section. Hope you publish something on the ~~soviet~~ soviet forms in Bolivia--and of course the kidnapping in Brazil is of course right up the Quebec alley--maybe we should make it more concrete. --after all Quebec had its own

The intelligence is watching the Quebec paper of ours

I think we should consider telling the center here to cease stop and desist sending you minutes or whatever else they send direct to you there in Montreal. This may become a matter of importance if we have to take on Mike. There is one center--that is Toronto where the PC is--and the executive secretary--although I see I am already out according to

Rouge and John Steele is in--Prague protect --

May 2, 1971

R
Dear John and John S

I got the Riddell letter dated April 26 on May 4th and got the Steele letter dated May 1 today-May 5th. Incidentally a package of material including a letter from John S with some addresses I wanted took exactly one full month to get here. Haven't yet got the Labor Challenge and YS you prepared for the April 24 demos

So we are planning some really big shake ups. Good but we have to be careful. We are dealing with human beings and no doubt a lot of things will be felt that won't be said but can have bad after effects.

When we start making shifts one of the first persons who has to be considered is Phil in Vancouver. He will be watching all this. He can write and he is from what I have been able to see one of our best educators. Where does he fit in? I see we have John S writing him to come east for Hamilton. It seems clear to me that that is out. He will do no good in Hamilton. Is he prepared to move. If he is able to move and hasn't been pissed off with the Hamilton suggestion he is probably right on your doorstep out there ready to negotiate in an embarrassed way about staying in Toronto and working on the paper.

If he is outside there I am for bringing him in and putting him on the paper staff. I think that Phil handled right can play a big role in the movement at this time.

I think that is a somewhat key move. For instance I think that settles the question of ~~Barrington~~ Gary for the next period. Can't pull them both out of Vancouver--particularly in view of the past ruptures it has had to put up with. We are dealing with the League, not the youth which can and should be continually upset. I don't know who the hell these aging men are that you are both talking about in your letters. The League in my opinion needs a little stability in order to develop more cadre out of the new material coming in and around.

So I would start with Phil.

If Phil bangs in--I think for the next period we could have Phil and Dick work the paper. I gather from a sentence in John S letter that we don't mind Dick heading to NY as it gives us an opening in the paper. I don't agree with that. We need Dick on the paper and in the center very much. We don't have, haven't had an operation in that paper. John R is gone. I don't look to Dick going at all. We need him. Dick is not only an able and dedicated comrade--but he knows a lot about the paper. He just can't build a team, can't lead an operation. Soooooo. We haven't got out of Dick what he can give--particularly over the past several months. He was our Quebec specialist and now there is John R going in there and that's out. When Dick has some real projects he is big asset to our movement. I gather he has heard about the ICP affair. I regret this. I was tinking that we would hold this in reserve for any real fall out--most likely for Art and if necessary for Dick but not at all necessarily. We want Dick on the paper and I think we can work out an operation with him and Phil. Then we can bring in someone like Liz Angus. But the idea of say Gary and Liz on the paper is completely out--because you don't have anything staked down there.

We want Dick to stay on the paper--and we want to supplement him.

In my opinion we have a much bigger obligation to the English arena than we have to ICP.

Joan. I am a little worried that she seems to be hanging in the air. Joan whatever our criticisms of her is one of our leading cadre. She has carried the ball on womens liberation for the whole movement from where I see it...right from the start—you know it was Joan and I who worked out the brief when it really got down to it. As I say I am a little worried that she does not play a bigger role in your plans—that we havent been able to come to grips with her. Off hand I cant see her going to Vancouver—it would not be wanted as a replacement say for Phil. Edmonton? I really dont know—but I am uneasy. A couple of comrades have to have a real talk with her. For instance I wouldn't start talking to Regula about working with John S or with Liz A about going on the paper without first settling what Joan is going to do. Maybe Joan is not prepared to leave Toronto—doesn't really want to and as you know there is Bob. She and John S would make an excellent team. Joan is well known and highly respected by all our best contacts. She is very responsibly and has on many times shown lots of guts. Then too while she has had difficulties writing there is no question in my mind that she is able. We havent given her an chance but worked her night and day

So in my opinion you have to settle Joan. And my impression is but I may well be quite wrong she is not thinking at all of Edmonton or Ottawa. I think that generally speaking she can make her biggest contribution in Toronto. My feeling is that within the next period—6 months or so we will want Joan to go to England where she can make a big contribution Phil, Dick, Joan. Then Art. In my opinion you have to move first on these matters from our key cadre—already cadre. If Art comes into Toronto with enthusiasm and wants to work as organizational secretary I am all for it. It is a big thing for him to come out of Montreal and in the circumstances as they are. I dont think we want to thrust him into another sharp problem right away—say Edmonton, As I say, even though we could not afford it I was thinking of his psychological state when I was thinking of ICP. If he wants to come into Toronto and he is bouncing—lets keep him in Toronto for a period.

Thats the old guard—average age about 33 years.

What about bringing new elements forward and meeting the challenges of Ottawa, Edmonton, Oshawa, Hamilton etc etc.

I think that it would be very good to bring another leading woman comrade onto the staff. My thinking goes to Regual for several reasons—particularly because for several years now she has wanted to move this way. I am wondering how flexible she is—now that she is married—for moving I mean—to Ottawa say. I am somewhat doubtful. Let's have a talk with her. Well we have another spot open and that is working with Jeff on Crescent. I would give priority to a woman over George A. Besides George A and Brenda being a couple really should be reserved for a colonization. Regual can play a big role in the movement from that post in Crescent. She would get that hopping. And then she would be free to move in many areas of the central operation—the co, the branch—name it.

am all for liberating Regula--this will be a big gain for the movement. and for her

So you havnet said anything about VMC. I have a feeling because of your silence that Zane did not come through so well. I was hoping that with real help from George that he would be able to carry it off. If he didn't then we have a problem there--really the youth have. If we want Wendy in and I am inclined to believe that would be desireable I think that she could move right in there.

If Phil comes in we dont need to talk about Kate going to Vancouver. I think that she should just move in there on Bert. And being in Ottawa is not too far from the center and less from Montreal. She knows Ottawa

That leaves Edmonton. And there are several possibilties here.

Of course you cant fit all these peices together like this. With John S as Toronto branch organizer you have to move to the paper. We have to at this time to try to build an operation around what youve got. And at this time you only have Dick. If Phil comes in you have a solution--temporary you may say --ok--but a solution. Gary and Liz are no solution to me--and you cant ignore Phil's aspirations which are our too. You have to give Art and opportunity to settle. You have to really get down to work things out with Joan.

This may at first glance not appear bold enough, not giving us the dynamism that we want through change. But the problem is that we are only really beginning to build a cadre in the sense of operating team people. For somehile we have had a cadre in the sense of able, grounded dedicated comrades but that is only one aspect of a party cadre it seems to me. You have to have an operation and it has to come out of these elements. We dont want to scatter them--we have been doing this for years. We want to build a center. John R going is a big loss in this very key sense of our operation.

I dont have a good impression of Bonny--I dont think she delivers. Hans --good ,let's give him sometime. We should start to how work him into things then. Let's start to groom comrades like Bonnie--like Liz.

If George and Brenda would head off to Edmonton it would be very good. What would Brenda have to say after she has had this years teaching in

Not too worried about Jacquie and Joe. This next few months present them with a real challenge to bring some new elements up so we can handle such problems as Ottawa and Edmonton with more ease.

So I am sending this off in the mail as a preliminary comment.

comradely

Ross

copies to John S, John R.

I havent taken up the question of my coming back right after the LC congress until we can see what progress we have on the personall problem. If Dick is pulling out and with John R gone this presents us with a big problem that Gary and Liz or Joan or Regula--I dont know what combinations you have to offer, dont solve. It would seem to me that it would compel my return.

May 6, 1971

Incredible Karen—May the 6th —incredible

Why I have been over here now for 10 weeks and it seems that I have hardly done anything at all.

But I did ~~one~~ thing. I came across a book called The British in Vietnam—How the 25year war began—and I reviewed it I must say with you particularly in mind. Or let us say a little situation that developed in your neck of the woods in mind. Of course you will recall the attack those couple of right wing NDPers launched against ~~maxxingmanningmanningmanning~~ us—where they even threw in Ho Chi Minh as an authority against us. Well this little book not only exposes the role of imperialism in Vietnam but it also shows how—quite inadvertently—the Vietmin "policy of moderation resulting only in the restoration of French rule in Saigon."

Did you see the review ? For some reason Labor Challenge hasn't picked it up But the May 3, 1971 issue of Intercontinental did--on pages 410. Does anyone in Saskatoon get the ICP. Someone should. And if they dont why not write for a copy--50 cents P.O. Box 116 Village Post Office Station, New York N.Y. 10014

Then I think it would be a nice gesture to get a couple of photo copies made and send them along with a little note to thise two jokers. Might do them good

Hope all goes well as it was obviously going when I was out there. Carol—! ? Mad at her 'cause she has never written me at all all during my stay over here. Did Paul take out time to pick up his studies ? And when is Richard headed into Toronto to get some experience in the operation there ?

I havent received the Lennon issue of YS yet—but I thought that the previous isse was a big improvement.

Give my regards to Sheila and Kevin. Tell Kevin the landlady away over by the town hall was asking about him--when he was coming back.

comradely

Ross Dowson

May 23, 1971

Toronto

Mo. Manon h Mtl

Dear Jacquie;

I have been doing some hardtravelling over the past few weeks and this is the first time I have been able to get down to writing about the young socialist of May. I see I am two issues behind on Labour Challenge.

Manon and I went over to England, then she returned here to Bruxelles to speak to the group and then we joined at Paris for the Commune celebration--with Helen Claus coming over with me and all together meeting Chris and Diane in Paris. So Canada had a real operation at the two affairs--the festival at the university and on the march honoring the commune. I have sent Dick a copy of an article I wrote on the Commune action--a sort of column that can be published with the article that Jean Pierre said he would send to ICP and through that to everyone. I sent my column to ICP and gave a copy direct to ~~xxxxxxx~~ Rouge. I hope they publish it.

Incidentally if this gets in Toronto in time you should immediately tell Dick that I have put a little clause in to make a transition. page 4 of my copy. The paragraph starting on the third line from the top should start off "No doubt many of us are thinking: Que Faire, etc." I don't think that it is anything very important to add if there are some difficulties--it is just that the transition in the thinking process is not very clear.

Perhaps YS should use the column. This is a really big affair and has caused some considerable concern to the bourgeoisie. Extremely prestigious for our movement both in France and on a world scale. You should have Rouge by now with its many pictures--although what they got are as good as we would have hoped.

Our little squad made a banner--adhesive tape on red cloth--for the LSA-LSO YS/LJS which we strung in front of our literature stall at the Faculte and marched under in the demo. Caused a little sensation everywhere with some passing through Users tacking on to us. If we had had a pile of the YS we could have easily sold them. But of course our main purpose was display of Pathfinder and handing out order forms. We sold every copy of the French version of our last convention women's liberation resolution and all the Cannon essay that we thought we had.

Right after the march I banged back into Bruxelles so I could write up both that column and also an article on the Labor party's sweep in the municipal elections in England. Then Joe came in followed by Connie and Alan for the United Secretariat meeting, after that I am taking a few days off and then go on to Paris for the Ligue Communiste Congress where Manon will be, possibly along with Helen again.

The copy of the May issue you sent me I used for display purposes at the faculte. It got well handled. A lot of young comrades who could not speak English ~~now~~ looked it over lovingly because of the Lenin-One front cover. I think that you should immediately send on a regular basis a small bundle of YS to Leader Books. Don't bill Al and Connie--just send them to them to use as occasion permits them--there is real value in having some papers hanging around in England--Europe. They will be getting orders probably from some of the people at the faculte affair to whom we gave Leader-Pathfinder catalogues.

But to get to the last issue;

I thought that the cover was really excellent--I am sure that it did things for us saleswise--perhaps the type playing up the exclusive should have been stronger--and you could have got away with that by leaving it pink and going full white on young socialist. But very good on all counts

I think this whole issue is generally consistantly very good

Edit on page 2 good along with the On the road again--although it would have improved with rules all around instead of the broken line on top I think.

Penny is doing some excellent popular writing isn't she

Good to see Don adding some controversy to the paper. The photo choice couldn't be better. The article is very good but the photo points up I think a certain weakness. Winnipeg is ancient news, Quebec adds to the argument but there are many misunderstandings about it still I am sure---it perhaps would have been very good if we had taken even simpler examples which are in everyone's experience--the violence of a strike brought on by the bosses after the overwhelming majority of workers decided to withdraw their labor. Every youth has read about labor strife ~~exammination~~ and has some rudimentary understanding and can learn more from such analogies

A real scoop that material on Simon Fraser, excellent action--and to think that YS had as a contributor the present of the student council--whats her name--oh yes Linda Meissenheimer.

The poem is good---and we have published so many poor ones over the past. Ian's article on Czechoslovakia is very very good---but the drawing has been over used now dont you think--even though it is excellent--at least it could have been put down at the bottom of the page and the photo at the top of our excellent young comrades in Ottawa

I suppose the case could be made that in the add for the Mole we had to carry the stupid drawing of the Red Mole--but I certainly wouldn't have--and even if someone says that on the OnonLennon photos the Mole fist alone shows and you cant make it out--I would still have cropped it down further so nothing at all showed of the Mole--which one can do without trouble.

I cant say that I care for our lifting the article on China from the Star---it doesn't seem to me to have any particular qualities--other than perhaps the paradox pointed out--~~the~~ Mrs Wlden riding a car--but it doesn't even come off for it is not a custom in Canada it so happens as it is in China itself.

All in favor of experimental writing. Diane Palm thought your article on page 8 was really good. I hadn't read it so I did not question her at the time and now she has one and I wont see her until Paris. But I am not at all sure of what it leaves youthful readers with in the realm of ideas. My feeling is that it doesn't come off--but good try. What do the comrades think

I thought that Mark's article was too long for what it said--although generally good.

Cheri's article is a very welcome one--particularly after her letter on art and creativity. Is she around again. But I think that the drawing is quite useless--incomprehensible and without even abstract artistic value.

The High school article is useful and Al Cappe's is good as is Monicas. I really dont get Will Offley item though.. ~~What do~~ we want to bait the police for--what do they have to get ready for. Dont forget all of us youth are looking to the folks who put out YS for examples of conduct. Another school victory in Edmonton--good good. ~~xxxx~~

Whot--no new addresses on the YS list on the back page. How is out

OVER

Further letter from John Steeles since the May 11th letter. I would like
very much--am even anxious to know what you have done on the plane of
personel.

Will write tomorrow on other matters comradely

Ross Dawson

(Handwritten letter by R.D.)

June 4/71

Dear *(sisters)* Ruth and Lois

I have just returned from the French convention – a rather hectic experience. It is pitiful that I cannot hear French – but in the splendid isolation I have no one talks to me in French so I never will learn it here. I will have to do so in Montreal – when we get time. So another foray out into the world and back – to try and get to work on my own projects.

And time is running out on them and they multiply strange to say. For instance I reviewed a fine little book on the British imperialist role in Vietnam. Aside from it being an exposure of British imperialism it was also valuable as it showed how the class collaboration policies of Stalinism (the Vietminh under Ho Chi Minh opened the door for the British and the return of the French after they had succeeded in driving them out. The author in passing reports how our people there had a correct understanding of the process. Good! I write the review. Then I think, perhaps the writer in his research came across some more material on our people (*the Trotskyists—ed*) which of course didn't fit into this book which struck me as particularly honest (*dishonest? —ed.*) – so I drop him a line. He writes back immediately – he thinks he has and would like to meet me – so now I have another area totally unexpected – but welcome.

I came across so many ideas and experiences that must be grappled with – every time I read our paper here or listen to translations of speeches and conversations that I feel I have no time at all for ordinary routine so-called civilized things. I have just come across a terrific book on an important strike in England that illustrates dramatically in life the falseness what some of our young, new, enthusiastic people are attempting to do in the unions in Switzerland and in Belgium particularly. I shouldn't touch it as I really have no time allowance for it – but I will.

Under those circumstances, Ruth, I hope the two trips we took – to Brugge and Antwerp – ere not too strenuous and rushed. I was really glad we went – I would probably not have done so on my own. I hope the photos came out well – I could see them very clearly in life. A wonderful day – wonderful light – but you needed a view camera with a very big film. I almost wanted to take up a camera again.

Every now and again I slip into the Grande Place to take a glance at this jewel – like a relic of the past. But it doesn't compare to Brugge which is of course more filled out and complete. Nothing at all to do with Belgium life today – well at least very little. Probably 99% of the local inhabitants quite correctly can't see much of it for the terrible stench of the canals and poor facilities. It should be locked up at nights. But I hope you enjoyed seeing it – a visit into another epoch – as much as I did.

It was also a real pleasure to see Rubens – not in the galleries they built around his works but in the churches that he painted them for. Too bad we didn't think to shoot them

in that incredible cathedral. We should never tear such a structure as the Antwerp cathedral down or change the interior – take out the paintings. We can make all kinds of reproductions for anyone anywhere who wants them. And the folk museum was really interesting.

Lois – thanks for the \$100. I know just what I want to get with it. I dropped into the British Museum again on the run to glance at the Elgin marble and in passing noticed that they have made museum copies of the horse's head and perhaps even more attractive – a copy of one of the better cast iron sculpture portraits done by the Benien (sp?--RD) people in Africa several hundred years ago. You have probably seen some of these sculptures with their tremendous modern feeling. I will get one when I am in London next – they are quite expensive but I always wanted one so I will get it and bring it back – loot from the British Museum.

I can't buy and wear the nice clothes which I would like and you would perhaps want me to spend the dough on – when we have lots of young comrades who have little or no clothes. They'll dig the sculpture.

Warmest regards,
Ross

My carbon copy John R. F4-1971-RD-C (Edward)
after reading put with rest
of stuff

June 11, 1971

Dear Joan; (bawking?)

It was very good to get your letter of the 27th. I have been hoping to reply at greater length than my first note for sometime now but suprisingly I have been rushing from this project to another and have had to delay until now. Today is Friday and I am leaving for London probably on Tuesday not to return to the settled routine in Belgium until after the IMG conference so it is the next few days for letters and articles

I got a rather vague hint of some developments obviously important ^{ones} from Sylvia--however she was astonishingly vague. I suppose she left too soon after the plenum for all the news to filter down into the ranks. Bits and snatches like Kathy Dalton giving Katy shit for living with Dick F, what I would gather a total demobilization of Carol etc.

Your letter leaves me somewhat disturbed as you must have gathered from my rapid fire one page reply on personnel

I'm all ~~the~~ for the revolution--everywhere--But if we need one in the LSA-LSO I am for it being firmly under control, particularly in one respect --- ~~the~~ I am all for bringing new elements into the cadre, shaking it up but all within the framework of preserving the ^{present} cadre, the essential elements that we have managed to pull together over the past several years, and building on it.

You see I don't think that there is anything essentially wrong with our operation as it now is. No doubt there are many weaknesses--and I don't doubt that while I know a good many of them there are others too that ~~are~~ are felt, sensed, particularly by ~~the~~ women comrades, by Quebecois, etc. that I may only have an inkling of. So we will rectify these weaknesses. But I think that the essential foundation of the league is very very good and I don't want to disturb that. I am for building on our essential foundation. That foundation is our Marxist theory. And that is not a series of abstractions but is embodied in human beings....both male and female.

That was Pablo's chief crime--contempt for the Trotskyist cadre.
~~Even if the French minority were to be transformed into a majority who took over the sections leadership. Alas unfortunately there soon proved to be no troops. The same with the theories spun around the coming world showdown with their implicit concepts of a new reality that excluded Stalinist betrayals. Along with junk the old Trotskyism went junk the old Trotskyists. Pablo destroyed cadre...the greatest crime of all.~~
A new development, a new challenge! Well we can argue, discuss, educate our forces, ~~the~~ evaluate the merits of the case. But not Pablo. Marshall the forces, blow the bugles, line up--the hesitants? the doubters? why roll right over them, push them aside--replace them with those whose response is immediate, regardless of their experience. With this Pablo transformed the French minority into a majority who took over the sections leadership. Alas unfortunately there soon proved to be no troops. The same with the theories spun around the coming world showdown with their implicit concepts of a new reality that excluded Stalinist betrayals. Along with junk the old Trotskyism went junk the old Trotskyists. Pablo destroyed cadre...the greatest crime of all.

If we need a revolution within our own movement--if we have failed to respond to the challenge of women's liberation, OK. But don't split us--- with the concept of a women's revolutionary party, and don't gut us by moving in such a way as to destroy the cadre whatever its weaknesses are that we have managed to build up so far.

I am quite confident that it is no form of male chauvinism on my part

When I question Penny moving into Crescent and the paper. In my opinion Penny over the past 5 months at least has demonstrate obvious signs of mental disturbance. She was completely disoriented all during the period of the youth convention. Of course Penny is essentially a fine comrade --a real fighter. But she is in a continual fight with everything and everybody. She has real personal hangups which render her almost incapable of working with anyone who does not appreciate her fundamental character. Has her problem something to do with ^{all pervasive} male chauvinism. ~~xxxx~~ This may well have something to do with it--but we are not a therapeutic association. And our forces cant all adjust to patiently wait out or even participate in the cure.

As for Kate--she is quite an unknown factor in our movement, at least in the East. Maybe that is our fault. I have never heard her in any political discussions but she has not been long in Toronto. When I left I had the impression that she was not really in on the operations of the youth on whose staff she was. If I am not mistaken she was to be a regional organizer of the youth. But from where I stood, not too close to be sure I did not see any operation there. Possibly this was the fault of the youth leadership but I had the impression that she had more or less dropped back into administration when everything was favorable for moving out into the field and boldly.

But I dont want to prejudge comrades--I only hope my feeling in these case are wrong if we have gone ahead boldly in the direction that your letter suggests, and established these comrades in leadership--the team you mention is Kate, Joe, Jacquie and yourself.

This team ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ along with the moves with Penny makes me uneasy. Where is John S, Art Young, Dick F? Are they all sick, disoriented, permeated with self doubts. I know one thing for absolutely sure--that Sheila Steele is sick ...really clinically sick. But unfortunately John obviously feels that in many ways possibly totally, he is responsible and as you say a mass of self doubts. What I want to know is what are we going to do about ~~xxxxxxxx~~ I did what I thought we could do for Sheila and became convinced finally that she is beyond our help at this stage. But John isn't and John is real cadre. I had a few talks with him and even made so bold (very dangerous) to suggest that it was best he and Sheila break up. I thought he was getting into the swing again. Arent we prepared to carry him over this hump for a while. How can you talk about a team without him. *

And Art Young. As possibly you know Penny and he were on the verge of breaking up. Art told one comrade that he was worried as to what would ~~be~~ happen to Penney and Penny told another that she was worried as to what would happen to Art. No doubt Art is in a ~~xxxx~~ bad period. But tell me --who wouldn't be after what we did in Montreal. That was indeed a very brutal operation that we carried out in Montreal no matter how you look at it. We ripped out the comrade who above all others carried the ball in Montreal and got the operation underway. You know there are a lot of corpses around from those years of operations. But Art survived and came through. Art is a real ~~bad~~ genuine leader, the founder when you get down to it of the LSO if it can be attributed to any one person. And we moved in and tore him out and replaced him with another leader which everyone knew we could only do in our own mind under the greatest duress.

There is no doubt in my mind that we did correct ^{ly} Above all because although I know that it must have hurt Art grievously that he was a big enough person to survive and continue to make the contribution he is able. So he seems out of it right now. Quite understandable to say the least. But how can you talk about a team without Art Young.

As for Dick. Who can question that he is a leader of our movement. Possibly you have been too close ~~around him~~ and around to hear my constant griping about Dick to fully appreciate him. This is not to negate anything you may have heard from me but to place it in its correct framework. Dick is a person of really great talent and commitment to our movement. You should know that some of my recent correspondence to John ~~Smyth~~ ~~max~~ discussing personnel in the center may well be part of his self doubts. He wrote me a letter on personnel shifts. And I wrote him back telling him he couldn't have been more wrong. He replied with a letter that unnerved me with its self-abasement on these matters.

I will tell you ~~now~~ now--that I was for John S to be Toronto branch organizer--but it is no secret--they didn't have you anywhere that was important--and I took them to task--Edmonton--absurd! They had Dick off to Intercontinental. But I asked the simple question--who is going to put out the paper with Dick gone. They had Liz and if I recall correctly Gary (that correspondence has gone back to Canada but I am not for reviving it as some form of evidence to prove anything in particular) and that was obviously to laugh. They had Art in the CO which seemed to me quite logical however I see you have Kate which I don't grasp. When they talked about the paper adjustment I reminded them about our more or less firm agreement to bring Phil in who is a capable writer and who knows things about layout proof reading etc and who in my opinion is our very best educator. The experience in Montreal didn't cause me to change my mind in this nor the present experience in Vancouver. The big job with our looming growth is educating new elements--I know of no one in our ranks who is more suited to this than Phil.

Nearly all these decisions involve males. Well I am afraid that we are heirs to a situation which is by no means of our making and which in my own opinion we have been trying to rectify within our own ranks as rapidly as possible.

I am not for a split--and the formation of a women's "Trotskyist" party with which the male ~~party~~ ~~along~~ with some women sell-outs work out united front actions. And I am not for a women take-over in the sense of a coup d'etat which ignores the fate of the previous cadre that we have already after years of patient work and hectic struggles pulled together. I think the record of the Canadian movement is very good with regards to women in the leadership. I myself have been pleased--but not smug about our progress. I think that in the next period that women will take up the leading posts of responsibility in our movement--faster in Canada than anywhere else too. I am all for it. To my knowledge the essential cadre of our movement which of course is not accidentally still predominantly male--welcomes this.

There is no truth at all that the concept of leadership is a male concept---and there is no truth at all that our movement is male dominated it is multi national and multi-sexual or perhaps it could be said--non-sexual. As I said to Jacquie when she suggested that homosexuality is underground in our movement--all sex is in a sense underground--nothing to do with our movements operations as such.

If Art, John S, perhaps even Dick in some way feel guilt ridden about the role of women in our movement---I do not in anyway at all feel guilt ridden--quite the contrary --proud. And I am going to fight for the continuity of our cadre--FIRST. If that means mollycoddling a few guilt ridden males then I intend to do it because as this stage we need Art Young and Dick Fidler and John Steele in the worst way

To think otherwise in my opinion is to show a petty bourgeois and dill-etantish attitude to our party, to the proletarian party.

Some comrades over the past period have expressed uneasiness about the fact that while we have the proletarian program the composition of the party is primarily petty bourgeois. I have not been too worried as I have been confident that the youth radicalization will provide us the cadre which will open the way to the industrial workers. But that worry is not without cause. I think that Art capitalized in Montreal to what was essential petty bourgeois nervousness over the Mike Mill tendency which amounted to nothing in the party as a whole but was somewhat irritating in the Montreal milieu, primarily composed of non-working class types and ~~immigrant~~ types who because of language difficulties were further estranged from the real situation and thus inhibited from reacting to it with balanced judgement.

Just as I am concerned about those comrade who happen to be males--- I am very much concerned about Carol. What has happened to her. I was hoping she would write to me over the past period and suggested this several times to Jacquie. How could Carol go off like that. You know sometimes our youth are forgetful. Before she went out West I had a talk with Carol-- about how she had to decide ~~what~~ what city she was going to operate out of and how she had to set up a couple of rooms for herself--even though she was constantly on the move--that would be a sort of private domain for her books, for quiet--for herself. --and how she must not let the center leave her in anyway on her own financially..how they had to provide her wages regardless of the financial circumstances of Saskatoon, Edmonton or Winnipeg etc. I hope that you will really look into this and that we will all make a real effort to hold onto Carol--who when she is with it is one of the best of our ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ comrades.

I think that the special all women session that cut into the youth plenum was a mistake and also a meeting of EC and CC women comrades too --that it would ~~be~~ ^{have been} a mistake too. I can see consciousness raising having some value among women who are trying to find themselves as human beings in the most elementary rudimentary way. I think we agree that it served a certain purpose in the early stages of the women's liberation movement--- but we also know what it tended to turn into--it stood as a block to women relating themselves to the struggle, to involving themselves in struggle, moving out on the social ~~are~~ arena and ~~doing~~ battle against the system. Nearly all those tendencies soon took as their main task that of fighting male chauvinism, including ever little wisp of it that they saw reflected into the revolutionary vanguard. The plenum is the interim convention, the party. All the leaders, male and female must be in that discussion. I think it is a totally unwarranted concession to the women's revolutionary party tendency--and could only result in all kinds of crap which endangers the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ functioning of the leading body. I think it has some parallel to the experience that Cannon related --the decision of a previous US CP leading body to open to doors for anyone to say what they wanted about another---this destroyed the body permanently.

I am anxious to know how the Toronto branch elections went. As you know our compromise to petty bourgeois tendencies last time left us with a quite inadequate leadership. I am hoping that we resolved this this time.

Would you show this to Jacquie--I have sent my carbon to John R.

*I intend to be back about the 30th June
after stopping in Montreal*

all the best

Ross

MINUTES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING, AUG. 4, 1971, CONVENED 8.20PM.

Attendance: Chair: Maxwell, Secretary: Macdonald; S.of A: Whitton;
P.C. Present: Maxwell, Connolly, Macdonald, Kent, Labossiere, Ruby,
Brennan, Whitton; P.C. Absent: Paquette, Saunders, Brock, Fleming.

Minutes: m/c to adopt the minutes of the Political Committee meeting of July 25, 1971.

Abortion Campaign: Ruby reported; m/c to prepare a short statement on the scope of the Nov. 20th action in relation to the whole campaign for the repeal of the abortion laws, and to prepare a detailed report for the plenum; m/c to refer the question of full-timers and cross country coordinator of women's liberation work to the Political Bureau.

Personnel: Kent reported and presented the following recommendations of the joint Political Bureaux:

m/c that we agree that D.L. come into centre, however that we do not at this time determine his specific role or whether he goes on full time.

m/c that we encourage D. of Saskatoon to transfer to Winnipeg.

m/c that we enquire as to the availability of D.T. to come into the centre as Southern Ontario Regional Organizer.

m/c that we enquire as to R.T.'s. availability to stay in centre and move in direction of the youth paper.

m/c that we concur with proposition of a leading youth comrade being assigned to function as Prairie organizer.

m/c that P.C. be taken on staff at centre as educational director;

m/c to accept transfer of C.B. from Winnipeg to Toronto;

m/c to grant a 3 months leave of absence to C.O. full member of the Central Committee and Political Committee;

m/c to accept K.D.'s application for transfer abroad and to inform the comrades abroad of our experience with her.

m/c to request K.K. to inform us of her intentions.

m/c to constitute a branch in Sudbury.

Montreal: Kent reported on educational weekend; m/c to adopt.

International: Preliminary report by Kent on cadre school on basis of information from A.B.

Waterloo: Brennan reported and recommended that class on Canadian Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism replace the one on Dynamics of World Revolution and that pannel on gay liberation be contingent on the local group participating in it; m/c to adopt.

Gay Liberation: Kent reported on level of movement as known to us; discussion.

Plenum:

m/c that Connolly present a developed statement on Gay Liberation and movement; m/c that Ruby prepare the report on the abortion campaign; m/c that Kent prepare a report on the status and discussion in the world movement; m/c that the Political Bureau determine the need for additional reports.

N.B.: m/c that Maxwell attend the Oberlin conference.

Adjournment: 11.30pm

August 9, 1971

To all members of The Executive Council of the Young Socialists
Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and
The Central Committee of the League for Socialist
Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

Dear Comrades;

This letter is issued under the authority of the combined Political
Bureaus of the YS LJS and LSA/LSO

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the LSA/LSO will
be taking place over the weekend of August 28-29. It will be held in
Toronto at 334 Queen Street West.

The plenary session of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS will
therefore take place on August 26-27 and in Waterloo.

This switch has been made to meet difficulties posed for several
leading LSA/LSO comrades being unable to attend other than a non-working
day weekend.

fraternally

Ross Dowson-Joe Y

The Political Committee of the LSA/LSO has arranged for line reports
written - verbal or both on the following topics;

International report---Dowson
Abortion campaign-Newbigging
NDP-Waffle--F
Gay Liberation--S
Youth--H

The Central Executive Council has arranged for line reports written
verbal or both, on the following topics;

Political report- Y
Anti-war report-C
Organizational-J
Student--T
Young Socialist-
Quebec---not yet assigned.

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Report on the (Fourth) International (F.I.), by R. Dowson

As published in "Reports & Statements adopted by the Summer 1971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the LSA/LSO"—League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière)

This plenum of the central committee of the LSA/LSO meets not quite a year after our last convention. At that convention comrade John Steele who with Sheila Jones Steele had spent some time working in the International Marxist Group of Britain and in the international center, gave the international report. The text of comrade Steele's report was published in a bulletin containing all the other major texts of the convention. This report did four things: (1) it gave a sketch of the response of the world wide Trotskyist movement to the new wave of radicalization that has been sweeping across the world from Indo-China to the workers' states through the European continent and the Americas, including the U.S. and Canada, with particular notice to the student struggles and the new stage in the national liberation struggle of the Québécois; (2) it reported on the discussions taking place in the world movement which reflect these new opportunities; (3) it outlined the views of the LSA/LSO on some of the key issues arising in the discussion – in particular the positions voted for by our delegates to the world congress, the ninth since the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 – or the third since the reunification of the Fourth International in 1963; (4) it outlined the direction of the contribution of the LSA/LSO to the building of our world party in the next period.

Another part of comrade Steele's report contained some information and an interpretation of recent developments in our British section, the IMG (*International Marxist Group*). We Canadians, on the request of the International because of the high priority of British work has for the world movement, and our unique relationship with the British experience, had from the time of the unification in 1963 up until that year, allocated considerable resources and some of our top cadre to help the development of the British section. Among that cadre were John and Sheila.

Comrade Steele reported on developments in the IMG which resulted in the projection at their congress of two perspectives - one by the majority and another by a minority. All the documents have been made available in International Information Bulletins. He expressed the opinion that most comrades in the Canadian movement would sympathise with the minority perspective and stated that the dispute was a serious one because it "may involve some rather deep questions around the problem of ultraleftism, how to relate to the youth radicalization, how mass parties can be constructed, and in the final analysis the meaning and validity of the transitional program."

Comrade Steele's report was adopted without one comrade voting against it. Some comrades expressed uneasiness about the comments on developments in the IMG and abstained. A tendency in the Montreal LSA/LSO largely concentrated in the youth, but with one voting delegate at the convention, also abstained. The vote was: **for**- 44 delegates, 19 fraternal; **against**- 0 delegates, 0 fraternal; **abstentions**- 4 delegates, 2 fraternal.

Comrade Mill made the following statement on behalf of the Montreal tendency:

"We cannot vote against the report because we agree completely with the new and enormous opportunities and tasks before the Fourth International and with the necessity for greater participation by the Canadian section in the Fourth International. But we cannot vote for the report because 1) of our disagreement with the document "The World Wide Youth Radicalization" supported by the majority and 2) Because of the lack of documentation and precise knowledge of the positions of the British we cannot accept as a whole the severe criticisms of the IMG in Britain presented in the report."

It should be noted that the tendency's definition of the areas of abstention clearly put it in support of the positions that our delegates at the world congress spoke and voted for on Latin America and on China. We of the Canadian section at our last year's convention were unanimous on these most hotly contested matters at the world congress - a full year and a half after that congress.

The Montreal tendency did not vote for Comrade Steele's international report; it abstained because it disagreed with the document "The World Wide Youth Radicalization", a document that had been presented to the world congress by a unanimous International Executive Committee of the F.I. and which in the light of verbal contributions to the world congress by the comrades of the French Ligue Communiste, was not put up for a vote but was tabled for continued discussion. Since then the French comrades have submitted a document, appearing I think in the 'International Information Bulletin' April 1970 #2 expounding their views on the student radicalization. Our U.S. co-thinkers in the YSA (*Young Socialist Alliance*) have replied through a presentation by Caroline Lund at the YSA 1969 convention.

LJSers (*members of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, in solidarity with the LSO* – ed.) associated with the Montreal LSO tendency presented a document in reply to the YS/LJS leaderships' documentation on the student radicalization and our participation in it. It was discussed at the YS/LJS 1969 convention and rejected by the delegates. The next world congress will have the responsibility of drawing up a balance sheet on the student radicalization in the light of the 1969 discussion and subsequent developments.

We think that developments right across the world have vindicated the line of the World Wide Youth Radicalization and our support of it, including events in Ceylon where our comrades, for a variety of reasons, missed the youth radicalization, exemplified by the JVP, which was tragically smashed by an unholy alliance of the heads of the workers' states including Peking, and world imperialism and their satellites including Pakistan, behind the Bandaranaike counter-revolutionary terror.

The other reason given by the Mill tendency for its abstention on our last international report was because of that section dealing with the developments in the IMG. The tendency stated lack of documentation and lack of precise knowledge of the positions of the IMG majority as the basis for its abstention. Since then all the documents of the IMG congress have been printed and we have had further experiences with our IMG comrades, which brings me to point 4 of comrade Steele's report to our last congress which you will recall committed us to greater involvement in the work of our movement.

We have done what the last LSA/LSO convention instructed us to do.

When the IMG decided that it no longer required Canadian aid, at considerable cost we transferred comrades John and Sheila from London to the International centre. At a later stage, at considerable expense, we brought these comrades back to Canada and for a period, what with the added expenses of our executive secretary attending various meetings in Europe, were compelled to cut back on our regular financial commitment. This commitment is now back up in a reasonable bracket and our movement has responded vigorously and generously to supplementary financial appeals from the International centre such as the Bengal appeal.

Even more, as a demonstration of the seriousness of our commitment to building the Fourth International, as an integral part of and in addition to our responsibility to build the Canadian section, we sent our executive secretary to work in the centre for a period of four and a half months.

This put considerable strain on our Canadian operation and certainly weakened it from the point of view of the coordination of the work of our pan-Canadian forces and the development of our pan-Canadian strategy, as Comrade Dowson, up until that time had been the only comrade ever assigned to that area, and we were compelled, not unsuccessfully in our opinion, to find a type of substitute operation. We think complaints from the various branches, legitimate in most respects, should be tempered in this respect — we are dead serious as to our commitment to the International.

I think that our contribution to the world movement over that four and a half months was a very positive one as were the contributions of comrade Fidler, the managing editor of

Labor Challenge, and comrade Beiner, the organizer of the LJS. We sent both of these comrades to Europe where, over the period from July 17 to 25, they participated in the European (French) cadre school and the United Secretariat meeting, and later they familiarized themselves with other facets of our European work while they took their vacations there.

Possibly one of the most important aspects of the Fidler/ Beiner contribution was, as one of them phrased it, upon their return, 'We put Canada on the map': A common experience of all Canadian comrades who have gone to Europe is that the overwhelming majority of our European co-thinkers do not know that Canada exists or think that it exists — in some respects as many U.S. senators think — as the 51st state of the U.S. union. They are unacquainted with the rich experience of our Canadian movement and the characteristics of the social structure and class struggle of Canada, that clearly mark it off from the U.S. experience.

They are unaware of the union-based labor party, the New Democratic Party, and how this shapes the class struggle particularly in English Canada, and the rich experience the Canadian Trotskyists have had in orienting to such movements, including our entrust experiences in the NDP's predecessor — the CCF. Some of these experiences were adopted by our British section in the days when Healy played a positive role in the development of British Trotskyism. They are, despite their, acquaintance with the sensational, the disastrous adventurism of the FLQ, largely unacquainted with the national question in Quebec and our extremely fruitful discussions on the national question as it is expressed in Canada, and the organizational structures that we have adopted to fuse the

Québécois struggle with the revolutionary struggle in the rest of Canada – our independent Quebec national organizational structure, within a united pan-Canadian section. They are unacquainted with the rich experience we have gained through the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes – a student youth organization, democratic centralist, independent, but in political solidarity with the LSA/LSO, which publishes its own press and which has already largely established its hegemony over those sectors of Canadian youth who are socialist and are consciously involved in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

They are unacquainted with the Native movement and the Black movement which is markedly different from that in the U.S., and the anti-U.S.-imperialism sentiment that is wide spread across Canada. They are unacquainted with the women's liberation movement which in Canada preceded the development of that mighty force for the socialist revolution now underway in the United States, and with our rich experiences with ultraleft and sectarian currents in this movement. And they are unacquainted with the Trotskyist tradition in Canada. Last week, at the Waterloo Educational Conference attended by over 450 persons, we celebrated 50 years of unbroken continuity of the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada. And they are unaware of the role we've played in realizing the unification of the major force of world Trotskyism in the 1963 congress of reunification.

Comrades Fidler and Beiner made two major contributions on the Canadian experience of building the revolutionary vanguard party to our European comrades who assembled at the French cadre school. They also made an unplanned contribution to the Latin American discussion that comrade Maitan opened up there with a five hour dissertation which they considered to have been of a highly factional character.

One of the difficulties in building our International and realizing a fruitful exchange of experiences is the problem of language. Our Quebec Francophone comrades are possibly the best placed in the non-European world to learn from the work of our co-thinkers, particularly the Ligue Communiste, and at the same time because of the publication of **Libération** and Editions d'Avant-Garde to transmit the Canadian experience to our Francophone European comrades. The development of Editions d'Avant-Garde must not only be looked upon by the Canadian Trotskyists as essential to the development and armament of the Québécois, but as a contribution to building the Fourth International.

During my 4 and one half months stay in Europe I participated in all the meetings of the United Secretariat and also the meetings of the bureau of the Secretariat. I also had the opportunity to attend the Congress of the Ligue Communiste, the Congress of the British IMG, the Congress of the German section of the Fourth International, the congress that led to the fusion of the Jeune Garde Socialiste with two other groups to form a united Belgian section, and the European workers' conference in Turin which brought leading Trotskyist trade union activists from across Europe to exchange experiences. I gave greetings to the British IMG congress in the name of the LSA/LSO/YS/LJS. I also made a short address, in the absence of the British comrades, to the Turin conference on behalf of the British labor movement in combat against the Industrial Relations Bill, with the most massive and militant actions since the 1926 general strike. I also attempted to keep our world press, **Intercontinental Press**, **Labor Challenge**, **Young Socialist**, and **Libération**, informed on events there which I thought to be important. I was unable to attend the founding congress of our Luxembourg section,

a special conference of our Swiss comrades or attend the Swedish cadre school because of an overlap. The Swedish congress is taking place now during our plenum. I had made arrangements with a leading Danish comrade to go to Denmark and to speak on campuses and at section meetings and possibly Sweden, however the Danish section proved unable to carry them off.

The most striking aspect of my experience was to both sense and witness the tremendous enthusiasm that exists throughout Europe's youth, largely students but also apprentices and younger workers, for the Fourth International. European youth, just as the youth who are coming to the U.S. YSA and the Canadian YS in the process of their radicalization, find the banner of the Fourth International and our European sections tremendously attractive.

Our movement in Europe as elsewhere across the world has every opportunity to transform itself into a genuinely rooted force in the vanguard of the forces for the proletarian revolution.

I attempted to transmit and to give insight into this powerful attractiveness of the Fourth International in an article I wrote on the demonstration organized by our French comrades and **La Lutte Ouvrière**, and supported by other European sections, in commemoration of the Paris Commune. Several Canadians participated in this demonstration under a makeshift banner of the LSA/LSO-YS/LJS.

If there were time I would give a short summary of the response to this demonstration by the European press – ranging from *Le Monde* through to *The Guardian (Britain)*. I was of course not able to read other language press, but suffice it to say that this action under the banner of the Fourth International shook them up. They conceded that a new force had entered onto the public arena, that Trotskyism is not only a powerful pole of attraction to the youth of Europe, but is becoming highly attractive to other layers of the population, including growing numbers of the industrial proletariat.

I would like to say a few words of overall impression of our European movement that I gained over my 4 and a half months stay there. As in the case with the Canadian movement, the processes of the new radicalization, upon which our European comrades are building their movement, have put us under colossal pressures of a generally ultraleftist character. As with our own movement, and in some areas of Europe even more markedly so, for some sections are being built almost from scratch, there is a great lack of experienced Trotskyist cadre that knows how to intervene in this radicalization at the stage it is at, that knows how to take it forward through actions that sort out genuine cadre material, or on the other hand, knows how to meet the revolutionary anticipations of some sectors that are clearly ultraleft and how to grasp them and forge out of them, create out of them, new Trotskyist cadre, seasoned fighters who know how to act with caution and responsibility, as Leninists, who can build a combat party of a Bolshevik type.

I would refer to two areas.

It is my opinion, gained from the congresses I attended and from limited discussions with leading comrades, that the dynamics of the women's liberation movement, which is as yet only in an embryonic form in most sectors of Europe, is not fully grasped by our European comrades, and in some sections where we made some promising starts as in England, we have adapted to sectarian, ultraleft pressures that take us out of this radicalization process. It also appears obvious to me that the failure of the last world congress to adopt and implement the line projected in the World-Wide Youth radicalization document has resulted in some considerable confusion and no doubt in a number of chances missed to build our movement with the forces that are most capable of being indoctrinated with our tradition at this time and can lead us to integration with the industrial proletariat.

The last congress of the Ligue Communiste, although only a few months earlier our comrades played an exemplary role in some massive student struggles, did not structure a Trotskyist youth organization. The reasons advanced will sound strange to the ears of anyone with our experience. They are not that there is no basis for such an organization, that there are no common student interests with which to structure such an organization. On the contrary. The majority thinks such a move would be so successful as to overwhelm the Ligue's cadre and undermine its work of implantation in the ranks of the industrial proletariat,

The political resolution presented by the leadership of the IMG to its last congress proposed the liquidation into, or fusion with, the IMG of what seemed in some ways a very successful youth organization initiated only a year or so ago – called the Spartacus League. A last minute change of opinion by a component of the leadership resulted in the proposition being tabled for reconsideration.

The newly constituted Belgian section of which a major component is the Jeune Garde Socialistes decided to maintain the J.G.S. largely in name only, "instructing the incoming central committee to elaborate its concrete form". While the recent decisions of our German comrades in this respect are a little obscure, it seemed apparent that their decision to build what they call a youth **cadre** organization is an organization which bears little or no resemblance to either the YS, YSA or Spartacus League, but amounts to the transformation of the youthful forces that we have from a youth organization into the party itself.

Where is the discussion at in our world movement?

At none of the congresses of the various European sections that I attended was there **any** discussion on the key questions that came before the last world congress. To my knowledge there were no contributions, on any of these questions in the preparatory discussion materials of any of the sections.

In so far as they came up before the congresses at all, they were in the form of a report, usually of a short duration presented by an official representative of the United Secretariat at the opening of the congress, and not discussed at all by the delegates.

Without exception, the congresses I attended were concerned only with national questions and even then largely of an organizational character.

The Ligue Communiste is scheduling a special congress later this fall to discuss the international questions. The IMG of Britain is, I believe, slated to do the same.

Another serious problem, largely due to our lack of resources, is standing in the way of the development of the international discussion. It is one that has proven particularly painful to the Canadian section. For instance, as you are all aware, comrade Hansen's contribution to the Latin American discussion was available here in April of this year. But it seems clear that our francophone comrades in Montreal will be deprived of joining the discussion until well into September – more than six months behind our anglophone Quebec comrades. The French version of that document would have been delayed even more but for a colossal effort of our Montreal and central office comrades who, on a crash basis, devoted over 300 hours to its translation so it would be available for the discussion at the European (French) cadre school. Even so this key document was not available for this key gathering of our European cadre.

At the time of our last convention here in Canada we learned that our French comrades had not then – a full year and half after the world congress – been able to read many of the major documents of that world congress as they had not been made available. Our French comrades decided to allocate forces to come to grips with this problem but last reports show that the delay in making the Hansen document available is not at all exceptional and this problem, crucial to a democratic discussion, has not yet been solved.

We know that Comrade Hugo Blanco, who now supports the minority viewpoint on the Latin American dispute, at the time of the last world congress was unacquainted with the documentation of the minority. A few weeks ago we learned from several Mexican comrades who visited us here in Toronto, that some of the key materials of the 1969 world congress, not to speak of documents that have since appeared in English, are not yet available to them.

Any congress for which all the key documents in all the major languages, particularly French and Spanish are not available, and considerably in advance of the congress, could not be recognized as having any authority whatsoever by our movement, and we will have to help in any way we are able to rectify this situation.

Where is the International discussion at, given the availability of materials?

On the China dispute, still up for discussion at the coming Congress, there were differences revealed at the last one of a significant theoretical character. They involved not only an evaluation of the cultural revolution but an assessment of the Mao cult and the regime, the nature of its foreign policies and implicitly the question of the danger of ultraleftism to our world movement.

The differences were somewhat obscure until one examined the changes that had been made to the original submitted text. When comrades get the opportunity they should reexamine these changes. They will find that at least on two occasions the majority in the leadership removed sections that recent

developments have proven to be entirely correct – that the Maoist concept of peaceful coexistence is not one whit different from the counter-revolutionary concept of the Kremlin oligarchy and that its appearance to the contrary was determined primarily by the hard face that U.S. imperialism presented to the Mao regime and not by any important difference in the nature of these Stalinized regimes.

It is apparent that Mao's betrayal of the Ceylonese and Bengla Desh struggles was designed to open the way for a deal with Nixon which all observers see involves a possible sellout by Mao of the Vietnamese struggle, if he can get away with it.

All the recent developments demonstrate the weaknesses in the majority position and confirm the correctness of the position with which we identified at the last world congress.

On Latin America it is apparent that developments have not gone the way projected by the majority – neither in Peru, nor Chile, nor Bolivia. You will recall that the majority position is that severe repression throughout Latin America actually ruled out construction of revolutionary vanguard parties of a Bolshevik-Trotskyist character – that the ruling class ruled out the possibility of the adoption of less repressive regimes and therefore there was no alternative but to immediately prepare for the launching of rural guerilla warfare for a prolonged period and on a continental scale..

Some have now suggested that the question is whether you are for or against armed struggle – revolution or reform – which, it is transparently clear, can hardly be a subject of debate in the ranks of the world party of socialist revolution.

In the debate we (said) that armed struggle in the form of guerilla warfare – either urban or rural – is a tactic to be decided by a concrete analysis of the objective situation and must come out of and not be a substitute for building the Leninist combat party. The most serious weakness of the debate so far is the fact that the Latin American comrades themselves have yet to seriously enter into it.

Comrade Hansen pointed out early in the discussion that the strategy of guerilla warfare on a continental scale cannot be reasonably limited to the Latin American continent – that it will quite logically find its proponents extending it to encompass other areas of the globe. This theoretical speculation found its confirmation very shortly in Canada – with the kidnappings in Quebec by the so-called FLQ.

Our British comrades, despite the great amount of material analyzing the full implication of these events that we immediately sent into our international press, supplemented by on-the-spot **Militant** reports, carried a major article in their fortnightly with their own analysis. It cut right across both our evaluation (which was shared by the Montreal tendency) as well as the line of the statement issued with great expedition by the United Secretariat, in its support of this almost classical case of terrorism. Naturally enough, this being a matter of grave concern to Canadian revolutionists, we wrote a restrained and educational response in our press. Our British comrades protested shortly after at a United Secretariat meeting and asked that we circulate a reply that they would submit for internal distribution. We readily agreed and will do so as soon as we receive their rejoinder.

Shortly after, Comrade Tariq Ali was interviewed on a cross-Canada TV network. The hostile interviewer prodded our comrade into making statements which in our opinion can only be interpreted as defending, if not advocating individual acts of terror. While Tariq was clearly identified as a leading supporter of the Fourth International, we have not commented on this violation of our Marxist-Leninist view.

It is hoped that those comrades who felt uneasy about those sections in Comrade Steele's report dealing with developments in the IMG have since read the documents of their 1970 congress. Hopefully, the documents of the 1970 congress will be available for comrades' examination. I think that even the most superficial examination of the major documents adopted at that congress will convince any experienced Trotskyist that the IMG has evolved further in an ultraleftist direction.

I would refer to the reversal of their position on women's liberation. Up until the eve of the congress, the IMG's efforts in this field were developing extremely favourably in the direction of mass work. This has now been abandoned in favour of building socialist women groups. Comrades would do well to study the circumstances around the "capture" of a broadly based women's liberation paper by the IMG, for the whole incident may well surface here in Canada and be used against our movement by our opponents, who often maliciously charge our women comrades with being members of a "male-dominated" movement that manipulates such movements as women's liberation.

An even more recent example of the ultraleftist trend of the IMG is the handling by the **Red Mole** of the Clydeside shipyard struggle. As you know from reading the latest issue of **Labor Challenge**, the workers have occupied the yards. Instead of developing a program that would widen support for this struggle and lead it forward towards nationalization without compensation and with workers' control, instead of developing transitional demands that link this action with the whole process of radicalization in Britain, the **Mole** counterposes as the central slogan, a Scottish Workers' Republic.

A notable aspect of the IMG congress was a reversal of the democratic norms that had heretofore been practiced with regard to the rights of the tendency which made modest gains over the past year. They were of such a character which, along with the factional hostility generated by the leadership, could only be understood as being designed to drive the tendency out or lay all the grounds for organizational actions to be taken against them.

Thus the developments in the British section affirm (1) the dangers implicit in the strategy adopted at the last world congress for Latin America – that it tends to overleap in its application from Latin America, in the hands of our British comrades to Canada, for instance, and (2) also affirm that the adoption of this strategy reflected an adaptation to ultraleftist pressures on and within our movement. It would also appear not an accident that the first signs of the employment of organizational means to "solve" a political problem, the problem of the tendency, which is by no means a British problem, are revealed in the IMG.

In this respect I would like to refer to two other recent developments which the comrades will become familiar with in the next few weeks when the bulk order of the English language "International Information Bulletin" arrives.

One is the chance finding of a letter circulating in revolutionary circles in Latin America under the name of a Uruguayan Committee of the FI, and signed by one "Domingo."

Domingo, it turns out, is Comrade Maitan who heads the Latin American bureau of the Fourth International. The United Secretariat agreed to publish this letter which, when you are able to examine it, you will find to be not at all a personal letter, as the majority of the United Secretariat claims, but a highly factional document designed to secretly line up comrades.

Aside from its factional attack on Comrade Moreno and the Argentinian Verdad group, which is a sympathizing section of the Fourth International there are two aspects of this letter and Comrade Maitan's reply to the SWP Political Committee's communication to the United Secretariat concerning the Domingo letter, that I should bring to your attention.

Comrade Maitan uses the term "entry of the Argentinian organization into the International" and states "we relied on a process of progressive assimilation" – in the "Domingo" letter – and later in his reply "we maintained in principle even Healy and Lambert could enter the International" – and again "we were...for the entry of the Argentine organization."

This is how Comrade Maitan describes the reunification of the major forces of the F-I in which we played a major role back in 1963 – that reunification consisted of entry of the International Committee into the Fourth International, to be subjected to a "progressive assimilation" thereafter.

This of course was not at all the concept of the majority of the International Committee – we were overcoming a split with a principled unification that could lead to a liquidation of the former lines of difference and result in a complete fusion with a genuinely collective leadership. The other aspect of the letter and Comrade Maitan's reply I would draw attention to, is the latter's use of the term majority and minority in such a way as to clearly show that he is not referring to the last world congress vote on Latin America, China, and the youth radicalization – but to crystallized international factional formations.

That again hasn't been our attitude to the dispute in the world movement. We have viewed the differences as being vastly out-weighted by the areas of common agreement and have sought their resolution in a free exchange of views and experiences.

The majority of the United Secretariat has not disassociated itself from the Domingo letter and by its statement that it sees such letters as normal, personal, and private, leads one to conclude that it considers that it would be normal for other members of the United Secretariat to operate this way.

In the light of this experience, the SWP has suggested that the leaderships of sections and sympathizing organizations concerned by such developments would do well to begin consulting directly with one another – particularly in considering what relationship these developments may have to the political differences that have arisen and what is the wisest course to pursue.

The Political Committee of the Canadian movement should consider this as soon as the members of the Central Committee obtain copies of these documents, and take appropriate action.

The other development which the comrades will become familiar with in the next few weeks when the "International Information Bulletin" bundle orders arrive is a contribution to the discussion over the names of comrades Krivine and Frank entitled "Again and always, the question of the International," and dated June 10, 1971.

I draw only two aspects of this document to your attention: (1) the implication that the SWP holds a federalist concept and not a genuine Trotskyist concept of internationalism and (2) an attack on the SWP for encouraging those who share its view to pay no attention to (the) vote of the world congress; supporting through its press and the interventions of its leadership, groups and comrades who openly fought the orientation decided on at the World Congress; and intervening against the Argentine section.

The implication that the SWP has a federalist concept is not sustained in any way, either in words or in deeds, throughout our 44 years of continuous and intimate collaboration with the American Trotskyist cadre. All our experience is just the opposite.

Nor is there any truth in the attack, completely unsustained by any facts, that the SWP has played or is playing a divisive role in the Argentine situation not to speak of the world movement.

Such statements are ill-advised and are not conducive to solving the political differences that exist in the world movement within the overall framework of our basic agreements, to providing a proper atmosphere – the necessary atmosphere to solve them.

The comrades in the Montreal LSO tendency have for some time attempted to present themselves as wearing the garment and speaking with the voice of our French comrades in the Ligue Communiste.

We have never accepted this claim which often takes on the garish form of clamping the French experience on the Canadian reality in the most absurdly mechanical way, as we witnessed at the last convention in their rejection of our NDP orientation.

Perhaps they think they are brokers for the Ligue Communiste in their recent actions boycotting **Libération**. We deny this. And in their extravagant charges attempting to justify this action. We deny this also.

When the tendency decided to boycott our press, to break off all participation in **Libération**, including its circulation – the key work of our movement as a propaganda group – they charged us with "public betrayal of the line of the world congress, and even more seriously of the Argentine section".

What is their evidence of this infamous charge? The publication of two articles. One, an adaptation of a document of the Groupe Punto de Partido of Brazil which our Québécois comrades published without comment as a document generally

THE NDP AND THE WAFFLE

(This document later formed part of the platform of the 1973 Labor Party Tendency within the LSA/LSO – see March 16, 1973).

(The following is an abridged version of a report to the plenum of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Aug.28, 1971. The reporter is Dick F.)

Introduction.

The following report will attempt mainly to describe and analyse the left-wing “Waffle” formation in the NDP; to evaluate the impact of the Waffle on the party, and the right-wing leadership’s reaction to it; and, finally, to explain how we operate in the Waffle and the nature of our general intervention in the NDP in this period.

This report is designed to supplement the analysis presented in the Central Office circular dated June 23, 1971.

A mass left wing

Two years have passed since the initial appearance of the “Waffle” formation within the New Democratic Party. The Waffle is now established as a mass left wing in the labor party. It enjoys significant support among the party membership in all sections of the country; including a clear majority in some provinces where the NDP is as yet relatively weak, having developed only recently (Atlantic provinces, Alberta).

At the recent federal convention in April, the Waffle was supported by a solid core of 20 percent, despite strenuous attempts by the party brass to prevent the election of left-wing delegates. It was supported by 37 percent of the delegates on the final ballot for the post of federal leader – including a slight majority of constituency delegations, and about 100 delegates from trade union affiliates.

It is almost a truism now to say that the appearance of the Waffle confirmed the correctness of our orientation to the New Democratic Party – our view that the developing radicalization would find an early expression in the NDP; that the NDP as a whole, including its leadership, would respond to some degree to the growing antiwar, anti-imperialist sentiment, the movement for women’s liberation, and the student movement; and that we could look forward to the development of a mass left wing in the labor party around these questions.

Similarly, we all recognize that the key aspects of the Waffle correspond to many of the major demands the revolutionary socialists have advanced in the NDP since its foundation; e.g., public ownership of major industry, right of self-determination for Quebec, student-faculty control of the universities and, more recently, a program for women’s liberation. The Waffle has likewise echoed the revolutionary socialists in its insistence that the NDP must be much more than a parliamentary party or electoral machine and must take a leading role in building the “extra-parliamentary opposition” – the mass movements which increasingly tend to take on an anticapitalist character.

But the Waffle is almost nowhere under our leadership, and we have in fact been excluded from its leadership right across the country.

In the most important centres of Waffle support, British Columbia and Ontario, the Waffle is controlled by unprincipled alliances of centrists, Stalinists, ex-Stalinists, and hardened social-democratic reformists who are often united by little more than shared opposition to the revolutionary socialists — the Trotskyists.

And we have found it difficult to recruit in this milieu. While the Waffle has increased the attractivity of the NDP to radicals, making the NDP more central to the radicalization, the general body of Waffle supporters still remains reluctant to join a revolutionary socialist organization; they remain on the level of reformist politics. Thus, while the development of a mass left has confirmed our perspectives for the NDP, and opened up the party to increased intervention by our forces, we nonetheless find our intervention somewhat restricted by unviable elements, and our immediate recruitment prospects have not registered any dramatic increase.

How does it happen that we are not the leadership of the Waffle? After all, it has adopted some of our key programmatic demands, and we have established ourselves as leaders in the mass movements which give rise to the Waffle.

Should we make some adjustments in our intervention in the Waffle and the NDP? Should we give up work within the Waffle? These are some of the questions being raised by comrades.

A useful beginning in answering these questions is to examine how the Waffle developed.

Origins of the Waffle

The radicalization within the NDP does not start with the Waffle. A full year before the Waffle made its first big impact at the 1969 federal convention in Winnipeg, we noted that the NDP was beginning to open up; that the “hardening” process we had analyzed in 1966 was beginning to reverse itself. The convention of the Ontario NDP in November 1968 saw the adoption of resolutions calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to Canada’s complicity in the war, solidarizing with the struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, advocating nationalization of resources industries, a massive program of public housing, student-faculty control, party politics on the municipal level, etc.

In part, this radical mood resulted from a contest for the leadership between two right-wingers — at that time, a rare occurrence in the NDP, and which in itself reflected growing dissent within the party vis-à-vis the established leadership. The leadership contest tended to legitimize debate on party program, even though neither candidate had any contribution to make in this respect.

The Socialist Caucus, largely under our political leadership, moved right in on this development. It caucused openly – up to 100 delegates attended its sessions — and dominated the debates on the convention floor.

We followed these and similar developments very closely in our press. We noted the importance of this new left mood, at the same time pointing to the importance of the youth radicalization and the anti-war movement — which were developing relatively independently of the NDP — in the evolution of the new radical and anti-imperialist sentiment. When the Waffle Manifesto, "For an Independent and Socialist Canada" first appeared, we warmly greeted it, publishing it in the Workers Vanguard a full six weeks before the bourgeois press was even aware of its existence.

The adoption of document on Canada-US relations at our 1968 convention had armed our movement to respond sensitively and correctly to the Canadian nationalism – the anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment — that motivated the authors of the Waffle Manifesto.

Why, then, did the radicalization in the NDP proceed through the Waffle rather than through a further development of the Socialist Caucus? In a recent conversation with an NDP activist, Waffle leader Mel Watkins claimed that the success of the Waffle was due above all to the fact that, unlike the Socialist Caucus, “the Trotskyists don’t control it.”

If Watkins means that the Trotskyists’ program or strategy is a bar to building a mass left wing in the NDP, then he is dead wrong; as we have seen, the Waffle program has taken up all – or many of the key demands originally put forward in the party by Trotskyists. But there is grain of truth in Watkins’ formulation, if he means to say that for an organized left to gain a qualitatively new degree of support — in the absence of a deep-going radicalization of the working class — that left needed to acquire some legitimacy. Such legitimacy was sorely lacking to the Socialist Caucus which, leading lonely struggle for the socialist alternative during the lean years of the mid-60’s, had been isolated by the right wing who succeeded in identifying it with the revolutionary pariahs, the Trotskyists, who indeed played a lending role in the Caucus. It was easier for the broad rank and file of the party to find their way to supporting some new left-wing formation, than to embrace grouping which had directly been subjected to the red-baiting ukase of the NDP leadership.

Identified in the beginning with well-known officials of the NDP who signed the Waffle Manifesto — Laurier Lapierre, Dave Barrett, even Charles Taylor (they all later withdrew their support) — the Waffle in one blow dispensed with the red scare, and was able to present itself as a legitimate social-democratic current with deep roots in the party.

Moreover, the explicitly Canadian-nationalist tone of the Manifesto no doubt was a factor in winning support from a layer of NDP elements who were radicalizing in their opposition to U.S. domination of Canada but were not prepared to endorse socialism which proceeded from internationalist considerations.

But the major reason we weren't in the leadership of the development of a mass left wing is that we lacked sufficient cadre. Although we were heavily involved in the major radicalizing sector — anti-war movement, women's liberation, student movement, etc. — the League for Socialist Action was too small, and we had not built sufficient cadre within the NDP to maintain the leadership of the left when conditions matured for a qualitative leap in its influence.

This was the second time in the history of the NDP that we were unable to take full advantage of objective possibilities opening up in the labor party. In 1961, when the party was founded, and 1969, with the formation of the Waffle, the revolutionary socialists — given sufficient forces in the party — could have decisively influenced the development of the mass left, and thereby the course of the NDP itself.

Did we, then, “miss the boat”? Should we have allocated more forces to the NDP when we first saw the possibilities of a mass left developing? Such a conclusion is invalid. We could not have allocated more forces to the NDP without seriously undermining our work in building and leading the independent sectors of the radicalization; and in any case, any such colonization, given our small numbers, would have been thoroughly inadequate to take the leadership of this development.

The Waffle and the Radicalization

The development of a mass left wing in the NDP, while it is supported by clear majority of the party's rank and file activists, has not altered the fundamental relationship of forces in the NDP. The NDP is still dominated by the right-wing social-democratic leadership it inherited from the CCF, with its base in the trade union bureaucracy. That basic relationship of forces will not be changed until the trade union bureaucracy has been defeated by the left in the trade unions.

And because the NDP is controlled by right-wing reformists, the best radicalizing elements remain on its periphery, and the independent sectors retain all their importance as the leading edge of the current radicalization — both in Canadian society as a whole, and in the NDP. This is another expression of the dual character of the NDP. On the one hand, it responds to the radicalization — even the leadership identifying with the demands of the mass movements — thus, among other things, providing a useful antidote to ultraleftist pressures in the student milieu, insofar as it takes the radicalization directly into the working class, forging in action “worker-student alliance.” On the other hand, because the party is reformist, not revolutionary, it is not an adequate vehicle for radicalizing youth.

Our role within the NDP, as small cadre organization, is essentially propagandist. Our primary task, here as in all our activities, is to build the forces of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists — to accumulate the precious cadres which alone can make it possible to play a decisive role as the radicalization extends deep into

the working class. We do this by building the mass movements now existing in the most viable sectors of the radicalization, taking advantage of every opportunity to deepen and broaden that radicalization.

Because that radicalization is deepest in the independent sectors and the NDP's capacity to meet the radicalization is limited, to throw ourselves into the NDP at the expense of our intervention elsewhere would cut us off from the best elements open to our recruitment. Many young people, newly radicalized, are attracted to the NDP – but the best elements, those with a revolutionary bent, do not and can not at this time make it their primary area of activity.

In this sense the NDP remains the focus of our politics, but not the centre of our activity. But the development of a mass left wing has opened up the party to the radicalization and we should therefore be conscious of the increased opportunities to relate our independent activities to the NDP. This will be discussed later in the report.

The Politics of the Waffle

What are the politics of the Waffle? In the June 23 circular we said it “expresses the rebelliousness of the youth radicalization but reflects also the political inhibitions inherent in the NDP's reformism”. That is, the vast majority of Wafflers are conditioned by an inbred sense of what is possible within the framework of parliamentary politics. For them, the NDP is defined essentially as a parliamentary party, playing by the rules of the parliamentary game. The Waffle Manifesto states that “the NDP must become the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change”. Thus they accept the institutional terms of reference of the right-wing leadership.

Where the NDP is in office, as in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, many Wafflers have a tendency to rationalize its opportunism, to justify its failure to move in an anti-capitalist direction or even carry out a radical reform program, on the grounds that the NDP's commitment to parliamentary institutions and forms of rule requires it to temporize with other sectors of society, to represent the “constituency” rather than the class. It is essentially a classless concept of power.

This viewpoint expresses something else about the Waffle. The Waffle is politically very heterogeneous, in that it encompasses a wide range of opinion, ranging all the way from revolutionary internationalist (Trotskyist) to liberal-reformist and patriotic. But it is essentially left social-democratic, that is, reformist.

Reformist, Not Centrist

The Waffle is described by some as “centrist” because politically, it is between the right wing and the Trotskyists. This is not a precise term, and we should not use it to describe the Waffle. “Centrism” in the classic, Marxist sense is used to characterize

elements who oscillate between reform and revolution – most often revolutionary in words but reformist in deeds – “Composed of all those trends within the proletariat and on its periphery which are distributed between reformism and Marxism, and which most often represent various stages of evolution from reformism to Marxism – and vice versa.” (Trotsky)

Some Waffle leaders might be characterized as “centrist” – for example, Jim Laxer. But the ideology of the leading layer of the Waffle leadership is reformist, and often a rather ossified reformism at that.

Their viewpoint was aptly expressed in a paper Cy Gonick presented to a Waffle conference, August 1970, entitled (appropriately) “Revolutionary Reformism.” We analyzed it in some detail in the Oct. 5, 1970 issue of *Labor Challenge*.

Gonick inveighs against “reforms that are compatible with the system, that avoid confrontation with the business community,” but then goes on to level his attack at “old-style revolution” which he defines as “the sudden seizure of the means of production and the state.” Revolutionists, he says, present “apocalyptic visions of the sudden and complete nationalization of industry,” which is “unrealistic and dangerous to the extreme.” He counterposes the concept of revolutionary (anticapitalist) reform — “one which, when it is introduced, permanently diminishes the power of business and the market as the dynamic force in economic, social and cultural life.”

This concept, borrowed from the French sociologist Andre Gorz, appears to bear at least superficial resemblance to the Trotskyist concept of transitional demands. Gonick quickly dispels that illusion. He goes on to deprecate the primacy of the seizure of state power and nationalization in socialist strategy, substituting for it the view that the capitalist system can be dismantled piece by piece, through the creation of counter-communities as alternative institutions of popular rule. This “strategy”, taken from the ideological baggage of the new left, not Marxism, leads Gonick in the course of his argumentation from one ideological pitfall to another, in steady regression, until he concludes with an advocacy of an essentially mixed economy — public and private ownership — rejecting widespread nationalization as impossible. And, in any case, “people won’t accept it.”

Gonick speaks from the viewpoint of the petty bourgeois, overwhelmed by the power of the capitalist state and its institutions, with no understanding of the class contradictions of the system. He even fails to comprehend the class significance of the trade unions, declaring at one point that they are just another of capitalist society’s “institutional orders,” like the church. He and the rest of the Waffle leadership are anticapitalist — but they are not revolutionary. Thoroughly committed to a gradualist approach, they are even consciously anti-revolutionary.

The vast majority of Waffle adherents – and virtually the whole of its leadership — do not understand the class nature of the capitalist state, the role and dynamics of the working-class in the struggle for power, nor, of course, the vital role of the revolutionary

vanguard party. Many of the demands they project are identical or similar to our transitional demands, but they lack the revolutionary strategy which alone can tie these demands together, give them an internal coherence, leading to the struggle for workers power.

The Waffle's all-too-frequent failure to formulate a bridge between the present level of the masses and the socialist goal not only leads them into reformist politicking; it is invoked by the Waffle's right wing critics, occasionally with success, to isolate the Waffle as ultimatistic, unable to relate to the workers.

Thus in no sense can the Waffle's politics be considered revolutionary, although the mass movements it reflects have a revolutionary dynamic and although revolutionaries participate in it, and seek to win the Waffle and the NDP to the revolutionary socialist program.

A Contradictory Phenomenon

This fundamental dichotomy of the Waffle — its radical anticapitalist thrust, yet its reformist strategy and standpoint — lies at the root of all its other contradictory aspects. The Waffle presents itself as a serious political movement in the programmatic challenge it presents to the NDP, yet its leadership frequently manifests a light-minded, fatalistic and cynical approach to the party and politics in general. Its ambivalent attitude to the NDP itself flows from an inadequate understanding or misconception of the nature of class politics in this country. The extreme hostility of many Waffle adherents to the Trotskyists expresses a deep-seated fear of revolutionaries with their consistent worked-out program and their perspectives which are not limited to the immediate organizational expression of working class politics in this country.

But the Waffle expresses the pressure of the radicalization on the NDP. If it expresses the contradictions of that radicalization, it nonetheless presents us with an important milieu for revolutionary socialist action. The essential thrust of the issues which inspire the Waffle — U.S. imperialist domination, the oppression of women, student struggles, Quebec nationalism — is toward revolutionary conclusions. Thus we should be very open-minded in our approach to the Waffle, and wary of hasty generalizations based on what has been a relatively limited experience up to now in this developing milieu.

Dilemma of the Right Wing

In the June 23 circular, we stated: "The development of a mass left wing marks the beginning of period of considerable ferment in the labor party. The right-wing leadership, under the conflicting pressures that flow from the uneven character of the present radicalization, i.e., the fact that the radicalization has not yet gone deeply into the working class, is confronted with a dilemma. On the one hand, the increasing electoral

opportunities before the party pressure it to conform to the bourgeois parties, to present itself as the “respectable” alternative to the Liberals, Tories and Socreds. On the other hand, within the party it comes under increasing pressure to respond programmatically to the far-reaching demands of the radicalizing layers, particularly youth. This instability is accentuated by the right wing’s lack of a firm parliamentary base, hence its restricted capacity to operate independently of the membership.

This explains the right wing’s apparently confused and sometimes contradictory reaction to the Waffle. While the Socialist Caucus met with consistent, universal and firm opposition by a party bureaucracy that was increasingly confident of itself, the Waffle Manifesto was originally signed by many prominent right-wingers, particularly those with a pretense to intellectual capacities, such as Charles Taylor. As we have seen, the “legitimacy” this gave the Waffle may have been key to getting it launched with a mass base in the NDP. As soon as it became clear that the Waffle was catching on, and its positions became firmed up in convention resolutions, the party polarized more clearly. The right wing support fell away, and some who had signed the Manifesto, such as Taylor, became the Waffle’s bitterest critics.

At the same time, the party brass made some attempt to adapt to the left pressure. Mel Watkins and Cy Gonick were accepted into leading posts in the federal hierarchy. In general, however, the right has strongly and consistently resisted pressures to make way for the Waffle in the ranks of the party leadership.

In fact, contrary to the claims of the Workers League and other sectarians, the Waffle does not represent a “section of the bureaucracy.” Interestingly, the Waffle is to this point almost totally excluded from the NDP officialdom and its parliamentary and legislative delegations. The bureaucracy of both the NDP and the trade unions is profoundly uneasy about the Waffle’s impact in the ranks.

This is not to say the right wing is unable to assimilate some Waffle elements into the party leadership. Both Waffle and the right wing are basically reformist. But so far they have not done so. The main reason is that Waffle and the right wing reflect different “constituencies,” differing pressures. Insofar as the Waffle represents the force of the radicalizing mass movements, and the right wing expresses the relative conservatism of the working class, particularly the labor bureaucracy, they are in conflict with each other. Their opposition reflects the limitations of the present radicalization, the fact that it has not yet posed a frontal challenge to the brass in the trade unions, the labor brass of the party.

On the electoral level, where they are particularly vulnerable, the party brass face a real dilemma which highlights their instability at the helm of the party. If they move to the left, they risk sabotaging their own concept of parliamentary/electoral action, which is based on accommodating the prejudices of relatively backward sections of the working class, and middle classes, rather than seeking to use election campaigns as means of educating workers about the socialist alternative. But if they do not adopt at least

anticapitalist rhetoric, they risk alienating a good section of the membership, the lending activists whom they need for electoral mobilizations and, in the last analysis, their jobs.

Indicative of the degree of polarization in the party is the failure of some on the right who have tried to create viable alternatives to the Waffle which retain the content of the right wing's politics while adopting some of the verbiage and style of the left. An example is the collapse of Ed Broadbent's recent bid for the federal leadership.

Thus the right wing inevitably resorts to red-baiting, the only answer of bureaucrats lacking a powerful material base to arbitrate disputes and unable to answer for their own theoretical barrenness. But it is not the Waffle as a whole that is red-baited — rather, its left wing, in order to force the differences within the Waffle to the surface, and pressure the Waffle leadership clique to “houseclean” the ranks of the left; i.e., exclude the revolutionary socialists.

Our Intervention

The rise of a mass left wing in the NDP has led to a modest increase in party life, largely under the direct initiative of the Waffle. This is particularly noticeable in areas where the NDP has traditionally been quite weak, as in the Atlantic provinces and Alberta. Insofar as the NDP becomes more attractive to trade union militants, radicalizing youth, etc., it becomes more important as an arena of intervention for the revolutionary socialists.

During the past period, we have intervened directly in the name of the League, or more commonly, the Young Socialists, in a number of areas – the election campaigns in Saskatchewan and Alberta, through the special Saskatchewan election supplement of Labor Challenge and the Youth for the NDP rally in Edmonton; and the municipal elections in Fredericton, where the comrades were instrumental in getting the NDP to run, and an open comrade was the NDP mayoralty candidate. In Quebec, the alienation of the party leadership from the federal party machine and its relative lack of a firm bureaucratic base has enabled us to operate openly as a tendency in the NDP under the name of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière.

Those direct interventions under our own banner are, however, the exception rather than the rule. Our more usual intervention is as a tendency in the Waffle (an undeclared tendency for reasons solely of security), or through our independent campaigns in the various sectors of the radicalization.

In British Columbia, our Waffle-NDP fraction recently went through an important sorting-out process within the Waffle around the efforts to make the Waffle contest the party leadership, emerging as leaders of the most viable sector of the Waffle against the Stalinists and hard-core social democrats who supported Barrett. In Saskatchewan, our comrades were successful in fighting an attempt to expel them (initiated by a prominent

Waffler, by the way), establishing in the course of their campaign the right of Young Socialists to be members of the Saskatchewan NDP.

We have repeatedly attempted to involve the NDP in antiwar mobilizations, getting constituency associations and provincial councils to endorse the actions, and building NDP contingents in the demonstrations. The NDP Women's Liberation groups have tended to be dominated by ultraleft, sectarian elements identified with the Waffle which have excluded us. A much more fruitful intervention, however, is shaping up around the campaign for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. The NDP has entered pro-abortion coalitions in several areas.

Of particular importance is the campaign in Manitoba, where we have a special opportunity and responsibility to get the NDP government to provide facilities for abortion on demand. The present polemic with Highways Minister Joe Borowski, who has viciously attacked the pro-abortion movement, is the first major conflict between the Manitoba government and an independent sector of the new radicalization, in this instance the women's liberation movement. We can be proud of the leading role our comrades have played in this struggle.

It is by no means excluded that we could force the resignation of Borowski, which would be a big victory and an important step toward reversing the Schreyer government's opposition to abortion. (Since this report, Borowski has been forced to resign as a result of public reaction against his anti-abortion statements – D.F.)

The NDP In Government

The growth in electoral support for the NDP, registered most dramatically in the election of NDP governments in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, confirms that we will in all likelihood see the election of more NDP governments within the next few years, including the possible election of an NDP government at Ottawa before the end of this decade.

We should welcome this development without reservations; the governmental experience is the best possible experience we can have with the NDP – not because the NDP, under its present leadership will establish an anti-capitalist workers' government, but because the Canadian workers will only overcome their reformist illusions by seeing in action the total inadequacies of social democracy. But whether the advanced layers of the class succeed in drawing the correct conclusions from their experiences depends on the intervention of the revolutionary socialists, and our ability to consolidate and build, in the course of the struggle with the reformists, a mass revolutionary alternative to the reformists. We must pay particular attention in the next period to the development of campaigns and demands that advance our concept of workers' and farmers' government – a government that carries out decisively anticapitalist measures — against the caretaker concept of government upheld by the Schreyers and Blakeney's.

In Manitoba, the Waffle has failed to put forward a socialist alternative strategy to Schreyer's. Not even a loyal opposition, it is essentially unorganized and voiceless. Its interventions have been largely confined to the occasional speech by Gonick in the legislature. The Waffle conference at Fort Qu'Appelle in August indicates the Saskatchewan Waffle is similarly disarmed before the Blakeney government.

We, on the other hand, aim to bring all the mass movements to bear upon the NDP governments, to make those governments not substitutes for the mass movements, but powerful supplements. Where it is in office, the NDP should be challenged to put the resources of the state machinery at the service of those movements, to build their campaigns and to implement their demands to the fullest extent possible. It is, if you wish, the strategy of the "red province" — the provincial government at the service of the revolution.

As the abortion campaign in Manitoba demonstrates, these NDP regimes are very vulnerable to mass pressures from the left. In many cases, all we have to do is to mount a campaign for the NDP to implement its own program. In the case of the abortion campaign, it is not necessary to urge the government to actually violate the criminal code. We can simply pressure it to use its control of provincial hospitals to set up abortion committees in all the hospitals, in accordance with the tribunals required under existing federal law — but composed of doctors who are pledged to automatically grant abortion on demand. Abortion should be brought under the provincial medicare plans, and the provincial governments should make forceful representations to Ottawa for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. The government should identify with pro-abortion demonstrations; ministers who support abortion should speak at rallies, provide free government printing services for the campaigns, etc.

The antiwar movement should approach the NDP governments to declare provincial moratoriums in solidarity with the international antiwar protests. Mass rallies at the legislatures should be attended by the cabinet, addressed by the premier, and publicized by the government agencies.

The provincial governments control the charters of universities. We should organize campaigns both within the NDP and on the campuses, to change the charters to provide for student-faculty-staff control.

Those are only a few examples; the detailed elaboration of such campaigns is up to the comrades in the situation. But we must constantly look for ways to challenge the NDP in power to carry through on its program, to challenge the big business interests. And to do that successfully, we must be in the NDP.

At Revolutionary Tendency in the Waffle?

A few comrades, impatient with the difficulty of working in the Waffle and the NDP, have proposed informally that we initiate the creation of an open revolutionary tendency

in the Waffle, presumably operating under its own name with its own publication(s), etc. This suggestion apparently is predicated on the increased opportunities for revolutionaries to intervene in the NDP, and the assumption that we need some vehicle within the broad left to ease the passage of the best elements we meet there into our party. Comrades who put forward this proposal possibly envisage it as a means of overcoming and eliminating the control of the tight cliques hostile to us, that presently dominate the Waffle.

In general, of course, since the Waffle leadership tries to exclude and proscribe us, we are forced to centre our intervention in the Waffle on working with rank-and-file militants — and we seek to recruit them to the LSA and/or the YS. Why, then, should we not take a turn toward differentiating ourselves within the Waffle by setting up a revolutionary caucus?

First, what would we gain from such a move? Would we reach any revolutionary-minded elements whom we don't already reach? Is there a layer of radicals who can only be reached through such a formation? We think not.

In their absence such a revolutionary caucus would be only an artificial pseudonym for our party — and block to our movement, standing in the way of direct recruitment to our ranks. And it could even enter into competition with us. Moreover, the formation of this caucus would be inviting retaliation from both the NDP right wing and the Waffle leadership, who would be certain to block together against us.

A “revolutionary formation” within the Waffle would in no way solve the problem of differentiating ourselves programmatically from the Waffle. Our differences with the Waffle leadership are over such questions as the state, the role of the working class and the revolutionary vanguard party. A revolutionary tendency in the Waffle would be unable to debate those questions without pointing directly at us. Yet it would lack our greater advantages; the open existence of the LSA and YS with their publications and independent activities. It would be the object of suspicion from honest militants correctly fearful of sectarian maneuvers.

A revolutionary formation confined to the NDP would suffer all the liabilities of being confined to the NDP's reformist milieu without the benefits of participating independently in the mass actions outside the NDP. We would be responsible for it and have to build it. But, insofar as it picked up elements who considered themselves “revolutionary”, but were not prepared to join the LSA/YS, it would tend to be centrist — a tendency reinforced by the powerful pressures to accommodate to the NDP milieu.

In fact, there are already undeclared informal tendencies within the Waffle which consider themselves to be revolutionary, which are in fact centrist. (In Ontario, one such grouping is represented by such individuals as Brett Smiley and Jackie Larkin-Brown.) They are among the most bitter opponents of Trotskyism, and, not coincidentally, they are also among the most hostile to the NDP itself. Many of them have what we might call a “smash-and-grab” orientation to the Waffle; they consider their intervention in it to be

simply preparatory to the foundation at some unspecified time in the future of a “revolutionary” but anti-Leninist party.

The formation of an open, explicitly revolutionary tendency within the NDP at this time is equivalent to purchasing one-way ticket to expulsion from the party. This proposal can only logically be advanced by these who oppose our orientation to the NDP, or who believe that the NDP is about to be bypassed by the working class in its further political development. Both viewpoints are totally false.

As we have declared many times before, our orientation to the NDP is an orientation to the working class – to its present organized political expression. And we will continue to orient to the NDP as long as the NDP has not betrayed the consciousness of the class. In areas like the Atlantic provinces, where the NDP and trade union bureaucracy are quite weak, and the Waffle, thanks to the youth radicalization, is relatively strong, a superficial observer might conclude that the working class could avoid going through NDP stage in the course of its political development. But even there the evidence suggests the contrary; the strong support for the NDP by the steelworkers of Sydney, N.S, the most sophisticated section of the Maritimes working class, indicates the path of development for the workers of the entire region.

Our historic position as the revolutionary socialists in Canada will be determined for a whole period to come by our position with respect to the New Democratic Party, not toward this or that contemporary expression of the NDP’s organized left wing. Our work in the Waffle is part of our general orientation to the NDP. We are opposed to any action which unnecessarily compromises our membership in the NDP. We want to establish our right in the NDP and the Waffle.

This means that we do not provoke the right wing by taking actions that isolate us and prevent us from winning support from significant sections of the membership. We want to stay in the NDP for the decisive settling of accounts with the right wing reformist leadership — which will be the work of the working class ranks of the party not of a “revolutionary” left wing cut off from the trade unions and the party.

At the present time, we orient revolutionaries around the NDP through our independent activities as much as through what we do in the NDP. We are already in contact with the best elements round the Waffle — the best NDP activists — in the antiwar movement, in Quebec defense work, in women’s liberation, etc

Conclusion

With the more favorable opportunities beginning to open up for us within and around the NDP, we should be prepared to allocate more forces to work in the party. And we must move now to make the NDP a more relevant part of all our activities than it has been in recent years. In the first place, this means concretely that all comrades who do not

hold NDP memberships and who have not been expelled from the party, should apply for membership.

The June 23 circular set forth the following general lines of our approach to the Waffle in the next period:

1) We want to encourage the Waffle to take initiatives within the framework of the NDP, to push the party into action in support of the left's anti-capitalist demands. Examples of where it has done this successfully were the Waffle cross-country demonstrations last September against an energy resources deal with Washington, and the Ontario "counter-conference" on economic and cultural nationalism. We must encourage the Waffle to broaden its outreach toward greater involvement of and in the party's riding associations and local trade union affiliates.

2 Where the Waffle already has strong support, as in riding executives dominated by Wafflers, they must use these ridings as "beach-heads" or bases to set an example to the rest of the party, making them models of rank-and-file participation in political action, perhaps organizing regular monthly public forums on current political issues, even starting riding newspapers which can consolidate the NDP influence in the community. Official election candidates should be urged to emphasize the best features of the NDP program in their campaigns.

3 The Waffle must stimulate political debate in the party on a continuing basis, not just around conventions or other extraordinary mobilizations. Wafflers, and in the first place, our own comrades, should write for the NDP press. Concisely-written, educational articles that put forward our basic socialist concepts can do much to build the reputation and influence of comrades and the left. Often official statements by the party leadership can serve as a convenient foil for our critical intervention in the discussion; e.g., a reply to Dave Barrett on why trade union affiliations are good for the party; to Allen Blakeney on why compulsory arbitration in labor disputes is always wrong; to Stephen Lewis on why the Ontario NDP should defend Quebec's right to national self-determination. If the NDP press won't publish it, Labor Challenge and Libération (the Quebec publication of the LSO –ed.) will always be interested.

4 NDP comrades should be prepared to contest and accept some executive positions in the NDP. In general, it is our experience that the most useful positions are, in order of importance, seats on provincial council, and on the riding level, educational director and riding secretary.

5 The role of the Young Socialists is particularly important. Our best period of recruitment in the NDP was around the New Democratic Youth, when we were the leadership of the NDY. Each period of intervention (there were three major ones during the 1960's) ended in the expulsion of our cadres; reformists don't tolerate revolutionary youth organizations. Today, the NDY is in shambles or non-existent in most areas. Even the Waffle upsurge has failed to revive it. But the new radicalization in and around the NDP presents the Young Socialists, as the only cross-country socialist youth

organization, with unique opportunities to become the voice of the Waffle and the NDP among youth, particularly on the campuses. While maintaining its autonomy and presenting its full revolutionary program for youth, the YS should pick up and build Waffle issues and campaigns on the campuses. In provincial and federal elections, the YS should aim to implement the “red university” concept by making the campuses organizing centres for the NDP campaign.

By showing in action how revolutionaries orient to the mass workers’ party, we can popularize our mass action strategy and discredit opponent tendencies (e.g. ultralefts, Maoists, Stalinists, etc.) which are hostile to the NDP.

6) More than ever before, we must look for ways to draw in the NDP around our other, independent activities — in particular the anti-war and women’s liberation movements.

7) Last but by no means least, we must create a new consciousness of the NDP in the LSA and YS. The NDP is the most valuable mass action experience we can have. NDP politics are the politics of the class, where we confront all the major political issues and can popularize our entire program to the widest number of politicized workers. As a result, the NDP experience serves to “politicize” our own movement, sharpening the polemical abilities of comrades, increasing their awareness of political questions, and creating a more serious atmosphere around our movement.

We must move to beef up our NDP fractions, involving more comrades in the party, if only on a minimal level of attending monthly riding meetings. We must orient our press more closely to NDP activities and issues. We need to publish some basic pamphlets on the NDP; good beginning would be publication of the three classes on the NDP and the Waffle that were given at the Waterloo Educational conference.

A first step toward recruiting comrades and contacts toward the NDP we should increase the number of internal educationals and forums based on NDP issues. Above all, we must make intensive efforts, starting now, to recruit from the Waffle and the NDP.

(Handwritten letter by R.D.)

Toronto, Oct. 8/71
334 Queen St. West

Dear Dick (F.), Vancouver:

Good to hear from you after too long.

I am enclosing the first 50 dollars payment which you suggested is a satisfactory way of paying you on the loan that you so generously made to us. Kate Alderice who has now taken over the accounts will be sending you 5 more, regularly, on the first of each month.

Yes – the LSA/LSO is in the red. We are having a hard time keeping up with the demands on us. That's what Waterloo meant. The fine human material that is coming to us is now really demanding that we fulfill their anticipations; Phil is already beginning to make this possible. Imagine – we now have 4 trans-Canada tours underway – Mandel, IRA Kenny and Don T, Jacquie and a leading victim of the Czech terror against revolutionary socialists. Looks like such opportunities squeeze me out this Fall.

Glad to hear that you may be getting into the work force thru Douglas College once again – and with your favourite subject. I am sure that Ruth will miss you at the store.

Joe Rosenblatt seems to be getting along fine – he is now married and his wife has a child if I recall correctly. He is editing a magazine and has taken up painting. He tells me his painting is selling at the Mitchell Gallery. His phone number is 920-1291 but I don't have an address for him.

I don't know about my European trip being enjoyable – it was certainly valuable. I hope you found my articles of value. I kept very busy going to congresses of various sections – and writing along themes that I thought useful to the comrades. Took side trips occasionally with visiting comrades and incidentally came to appreciate Rubens. I was mostly in Belgium – if you ever get there you must see the town of Brugge sustained as a medieval town.

Everyone here is impressed with the Amchitka demonstration by the high school students. It will give a whole movement a badly needed lift. The (Toronto) *Star* coverage was interesting – small but penetrating. It contrasted the decisiveness of the high school students with the equivocations and double talk of the parliamentary apparatus.

Fraternally,
Ross

Appeal to the
United Secretariat
and Response
by the
Political Committee
LSA/LSO

6. REPLY BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO THE MILL APPEAL

The following statement to the United Secretariat was adopted on October 30, 1971 by the LSA/LSO Political Committee.

Toronto
October 30, 1971

These comments are in response to the request of the United Secretariat for our views on an appeal that it investigate the situation in the Canadian section and make the interventions it thinks necessary. The appeal is signed by the four members of the Montreal tendency, by G. R. [redacted], alleged to have been expelled recently, and four LSA/LSOers in the Maritimes, suspended August 31 but reinstated on October 17.

We first wish to note that despite the fact that this appeal is dated September 16 and marked "carbon copies sent to the Political Committee LSA/LSO and the National Committee LSO", we only became acquainted with it on October 15 thanks to receipt of a copy from the United Secretariat.

Comrade Mill is a member of the Central Committee of the LSA/LSO and comrade L. [redacted] is a member of the Executive Council of the YS/LJS. The four Maritimes comrades participated in extensive hearings conducted by the Political Committee through two of its leading members over the October 9-11 weekend. Yet the leading bodies of the Canadian movement have at no time received any appeal of any type from either Mill or Leroux relevant to any of the matters now taken to the United Secretariat, nor was the Political Committee subcommittee informed in any way by the Maritimes comrades of their appeal or its character, although it would seem to be relevant to its inquiry.

We think this procedure, which completely bypasses, ignores, all the organizational forms of the Canadian section to hit right into the United Secretariat, is most unusual to say the least and makes it unnecessarily difficult for such a body to get a clear and balanced picture of the situation.

We would like to assure the United Secretariat that we heartily concur with comrade Mandel's exhortation that it is especially in a period of pre-world congress discussion when all sections' leaderships should bend over backwards to insure minority rights in their section and in the International. We believe that the Canadian section has a spotless record in this respect and that, as this incident will show, even upon the most cursory investigation, our record will continue to remain without a blemish.

Nonetheless we must record our objection to comrade Mandel's observation that the similarity of the allegations made by the Canadian minority against the Canadian leadership and by the British minority against the IMG leadership as to restriction of democratic minority rights is very striking. We question what purpose is served by such comments.

We hope that you do not think it necessary for us to answer all the allegations in the September 16 appeal. We hope that any uneasiness

that may have been caused by the unilateral September 16 appeal will be satisfactorily met by our comments on a few of them.

But before we comment on perhaps the more significant allegations in the appeal we would point out that many of them such as the comment "some of the members of the majority leadership demanded several times that they (Montreal tendency and Maritime members) present their differences in public" and the comment "scarcely veiled threats of suspension... by several comrades of the Montreal majority leadership" can only be considered unsubstantiated rumour and gossip.

First we must say that we are surprised by the paragraph which brings into question the procedures of our last convention. We recall that both comrades Krivine and Beauvais attended that convention and comrade Krivine reported to the United Secretariat his complete satisfaction with the procedures of that convention, particularly, as we recall, in relation to the rights of the tendency.

One of the features of this convention was its complete bilingual character through a simultaneous translation system. Not only did the tendency with its single delegate have equal time on every report and full representation on all bodies including the praesidium (through tendency supporters who did not qualify as delegates) but facilities of the convention were extended beyond all normal limits to make all minority documents available even though they arrived much later than the deadline. The executive secretary himself missed part of the convention to see to it personally that a last-minute document was circulated. A couple were retranslated and re-run after the convention and circulated throughout the League, unanswered to this day despite their highly contentious character.

It strikes us as odd to see that the authority of the control commission, which was not elected at that convention through oversight, is brought into question at this date when the previous one was confirmed in office without the slightest sign of dissent from anyone, including the minority representative on the Central Committee at the plenary session following the adjournment of the convention. Why the three-person commission happens to be composed only of majority comrades is clear -- what isn't clear is why this matter is raised to the attention of the United Secretariat.

There seems to us to be no substantial evidence of a "witch-hunt" -- of a "dissident-hunting" atmosphere -- in the Canadian section as alleged by those making the appeal.

For instance -- the case of Gilbert R. [redacted] of C. [redacted]. Comrade R. [redacted] was not expelled as the appeal claims but rather dropped from membership without political prejudice, by a procedure normal in all LSA/LSO branches. Article III, Section I of the LSA/LSO constitution specifies that all members must engage in the League's work. Article VII, Section I defines monthly dues of all members as 50 cents, and Article VII, Section 5 states that "members six months in arrears (in payment of dues) shall be stricken from the rolls".

By August last R. [redacted] was eight months in arrears in payment of dues. Further, he had had no contact with the Montreal centre since April and had not responded to any correspondence. R. [redacted]

was informed by the national organizer when he was passing through Montreal that if he did not pay up his dues in two weeks he would be dropped from membership. Three weeks later when it was reported that he had not paid dues, the National Committee dropped him from membership without prejudice.

Is it in any way "a warning to the entire minority"? If it is, the message would appear to be a very simple one that no loyal member could take exception to -- it is to tell them that the constitution of the League is to be respected by them as by all other members of the League and that they should meet minimal financial obligations to the movement as required by the constitution.

As for what is an even more serious charge in our opinion -- that the minority "has gradually been relieved of all its work areas". This seems to appear in the appeal almost in passing, with no particulars and no examples cited. It seems to us impossible to believe that the appeal is referring to the "Argentine affair", known in the Canadian section as the "Liberation boycott", but apparently it does. This incidentally involved more than two comrades of the Montreal LJS but the entire minority including comrade Mill. This matter is documented in the Statements and Reports of the Summer 1971 Plenum of the LSA/LSO.

On June 13 the minority tendency stated that it was boycotting the French language organ of the LSA/LSO -- a boycott which covered writing for it, helping produce it, sell it, or doing any routine work related to it in any way.

It is our opinion that the boycott of the press of a section is a violation of the most elementary discipline and a repudiation of the movement itself and constitutes a terrible provocation of the leadership of a section. The minority attempted to justify its boycott by transcending its responsibilities to the section in which it holds membership. It cloaked its boycott of the press of the Canadian section with the authority of the Fourth International itself. It declared that it would continue its boycott until it had consulted with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

It was when comrade Mill stated to the plenum that he never got a reply from the United Secretariat -- not an official one, that comrade Dowson wrote his letter of September 7 asking comrade Mandel if he could throw any light on this matter.

The appeal now before the United Secretariat for consideration states that the minority's final resignation from the editorial board of Liberation should have served to "prevent the leadership of the YS/LJS from censuring the boycotters." -- as if the resignations made the boycotts excusable. The Central Committee of the LSA/LSO in its plenary session endorsed the action of the Quebec National Committee "to drop comrade Michel Mill from the editorial board of Liberation as a statement of our view of his resignation from the editorial board".

And far from relieving them from this area of work, as the Canadian leadership has been alleged to have been systematically doing, an area of work which they themselves first boycotted and then resigned from, it instructed "the minority tendency to commence loyal and consistent work to support and circulate our publications."

From the appeal one would conclude that disciplinary actions of a far-reaching character are taking place right across the Canadian section -- the appeal refers to "another discipline matter which had nothing to do with the Quebec or the Atlantic provinces." Who it had to do with and with what -- and what the disciplinary action was -- we are not told! We are only told, it is alleged that a leader of the YS/LJS said "We don't need any proof. You must have confidence in the leadership."

It is unfortunate to see this version of what was first alleged by comrade L. again repeated in an appeal to the United Secretariat. It would of course be damning if the leadership of the Canadian section held the view attributed to it -- that disciplinary actions can be taken against members of the section without any proof.

But to get to the truth it might first be best to say a few words on what the whole thing is about. The recent youth plenum was called upon to approve of the recent suspension of several Toronto members who had been proven to the satisfaction of almost the entire local to have been violating, despite repeated warnings, the movement's well known and unequivocal ban on the use of illegal drugs. To demand that the plenum hear "proof", hear the evidence, was to demand that the plenum itself hold a trial and render its own verdict, that it annul or reject the trial already held by the Toronto local. The Y S leader referred to said to the satisfaction of almost everyone there, but not, it appears, to the satisfaction of the minority, that "We don't need to hear the evidence" because a trial has already been held where the evidence had already been heard in full and tested in full.

The youth leadership presented a motion asking that the plenum "show confidence in the leadership" by upholding the trial conducted by the Toronto leadership and supported by an overwhelming majority of the Toronto local. All the delegates to the plenum endorsed the action -- except for two supporters of the Montreal tendency. They abstained. Why did they abstain? Because of what they persist in alleging a youth leader said?

With regard to the allegation that an LJS comrade was "forced to sign a public rectification of an article she wrote in a nationalist magazine." If the rectification (correction) dealt "only on the tone of the article and the emphasis put on different aspects of the women's liberation movement in the article" it would have in our opinion also been "a very rigid definition of democratic centralism" (even though the comrades appealing to the United Secretariat think it "formally permissible") -- "to oblige a comrade to be the spokesperson for nuances in the line with which she is not in agreement."

However, more than tone was involved. The headline over the article read "Neither Male Chauvanism nor Feminism" thereby falsifying the position of the LJS and the Canadian section to which the article was attributed. We give complete support to and identification with feminism.

Furthermore, the article contained a regrettable factional attack on a women's liberation group which even worse was based on misrepresentation of its position and a slur that it was linked up to the

terrorist FLQ in its thinking. This had grave immediate consequences for us -- for one thing we were banned from use of the facilities of the main women's centre in Montreal.

The article was contrary in its content to the motion adopted by the women's liberation fraction. The comrade submitted the article without making the changes agreed to in discussion with the comrade who had been struck off to edit the article with her.

Why was this comrade asked to put her name to the correction? Certainly not to humiliate her. To have submitted the correction in the name of the movement, or of a known spokesperson of the movement, would have been a repudiation of the comrade. The correction was a routine presentation of the movement's basic position which was edited for style by the comrade.

One last point which we must comment on -- the suspension of the two LSA/LSO comrades in Halifax and the two in Fredericton by the Political Committee of the LSA/LSO, and the suspension of the Halifax and Fredericton YS/LJS locals (of which they are the leading members) by the CEC of the YS/LJS on August 31 and September 1.

While the action of the PC and the CEC was unusual, the situation was unusual. The PC has just written a lengthy report for circulation through the Canadian section. We will attempt to summarize the salient points.

These actions were certainly not of a factional character as the appeal claims but in defense of the movement. They were of an emergency character, of a temporary nature. Shortly after the plenum, the PC became acquainted with certain information and, in the light of other developments, concluded that it did not know where the four Maritime comrades, who were leaders of the two YS/LJS locals, were headed. It felt that decisions of the gravest implications to the work of the entire movement were being taken behind the back of the movement and that the movement could no longer assume any responsibility for the actions of these comrades.

It called for an immediate investigation. And, so that this could take place with the full authority of the movement and as impartially as possible, it turned the investigation over to the control commission. It was not a trial, with evidence, etc. There were no charges laid. There was to be an investigation - by the control commission - of certain information that had come to the PC's attention. The Fredericton comrades did not reply to any communications from the date of suspension August 31 to September 30, and the Halifax comrades refused to answer the control commission with respect to any of the information that was the basis of its enquiry.

With this defiance of the control commission blocking any investigation, the PC decided to lay a charge of gross disloyalty on September 30 and presented evidence to back up the charge. Without going into all the details, in our opinion, a communication that we finally received from the leading Fredericton comrade endorsed by the Fredericton YS executive after the laying of the charge alone fully justifies the emergency action taken by the PC.

The document is titled "NDP report passed by the YS executive September 28 to be introduced to the YS local October 2." It commences: "For about nine months we have directed our NDP work towards building the Waffle (a loose left formation in Canada's labor party formation -RD) in preparation for a decisive conflict with the right wing. This decisive conflict is underway. It began at the NDP convention Sept. 25 and will end when the convention reconvenes on October 16." The report noted that a leading YS/LJS member took part in writing the Waffle Manifesto, another wrote the women's rights resolution and T. H. wrote the labor resolution.

This line is a clear violation of our entire orientation to the NDP, not only as outlined by our last convention but redefined at our recent planum, and validates the fears that Comrade Dowson expressed in his correspondence to Terry H. back in July which went unanswered.

The September 25 convention of the tiny and isolated New Brunswick NDP adopted by a marginal vote a whole series of infantile ultra-left resolutions which resulted in a walk-out of the trade union leadership and a de facto split.

The Political Bureau instructed the editors of Labor Challenge to make a public dissociation of our movement from the ultra-left line of the resolutions and any strategy of decisive conflict at this time with the right wing. This appeared in the Oct. 11 issue of Labor Challenge - Walkout breaks up NDP convention, by P. Kent. October 16 saw the NDP provincial council meet, and with the approval of the federal leadership adjourn after calling for a convention on Nov. 27. The ultra-left went through the motions of electing new officers and thus consummated the split.

While the Fredericton comrades expressed their disagreement with the line expressed in the Kent article, and held to their position outlined in their Sept. 28 YS executive report, they agreed to implement it. At the time of this writing, some two weeks following the split, we have heard no word from the Fredericton comrades about the October 16 developments, either on their role or their opinion of its significance.

There is substantial evidence that widening circles of the Canadian left believe that the Trotskyists engineered the split in the New Brunswick NDP. The Fredericton Sept. 28 report would tend to substantiate this belief. As this affects our work right across the country, we will be compelled to make further public comments on this development.

Our work in the Maritimes has been severely handicapped, not only by the vast distance separating these comrades from the centre, but by the absence of an experienced Trotskyist cadre there. It has been further complicated by the development of what is in effect an undeclared tendency headed by the four League comrades, without clearly defined views, which has encompassed the two Maritime youth locals. We were interested to learn in the appeal to you that the Maritimes comrades "are presently discussing the possibility of forming a united tendency (with the Montreal tendency). . . ."

The appeal ends with a summary statement that "in this context serious questions must be posed as to the possibility for us to develop our political positions with a view to a democratic discussion for the next world congress and for the next conventions of the section and the

pan-Canadian youth organization."

We assure you -- these fears are quite groundless. In fact that is just what the Montreal tendency has failed to do -- to make known in a frank and open way as any loyal tendency must do, just what its political views are. See Dowson's report to the Plenum for their views at the time of the last convention. Early this spring the PC opened the internal discussion in the Canadian section. The Montreal tendency has contributed nothing. Comrade Mill's contribution to the plenum following Dowson's report was not handed in in written form. While Mill promised the manuscript within a couple of weeks, it has never arrived at the centre. Finally in order to make it possible for the entire movement to be in some way acquainted with what the views of this tendency are, two months following the plenum -- the central office has transcribed Comrade Mill's speech from the tape of the plenum sessions and sent it to him for any stylistic changes for publication not later than November 14.

We hope that this information deals adequately with the major points raised in the appeal that has been addressed to you. Should you wish information on those points that we have touched upon or material on those that we have skipped over, we would be pleased to supply it.

Comradely,

Ross Dowson
for the Political Committee
of the ISO/LSO

League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972

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Number 15

November, 1972

Price: \$1.50

For Internal Circulation Only

5. LETTER FROM ROSS DOWSON TO WALTER D. AND WILL O. FLEMING, OCTOBER 26, 1971

Dear Comrades,

At its meeting of October 17 the Political Committee passed the following motions relevant to you.

"M/c that the investigation including all taped testimonials and replies of the four comrades, (Terry H.S., Carol W., Will O., and Walter D.) sustains the evidence particularly with regards to the Halifax and Fredericton conferences and indirectly the evidence related to the minutes.

"M/c that the four Maritimers be reinstated and that the Political Bureau draw up a statement of censure of the four comrades to be submitted to the Political Committee's next meeting for ratification."

I have been delayed in sending you this information as I had hoped to send you the statement at the same time -- but the pressure of other work has delayed this. I will now send this separately just as soon as possible.

Comradely,

Ross D.

APPEAL TO THE UNITED SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Montreal, September 16, 1971.

Dear Comrades:

For more than two years now, the internal life of the Canadian section of the F.I. has been marked by a series of sometimes rather violent debates which very often reflect the debates in the International. Considering the epoch which we are entering, this situation is by no means abnormal.

Recently however, there have occurred rather disquieting developments in the course of these debates. We wish to inform you of our strong anxiety with respect to what we consider a witch-hunt atmosphere -- that is, against minorityites -- that the majority central leadership has established. We also wish to exercise our right to appeal certain disciplinary and organizational measures already taken against some of us, against some comrades of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, a sympathizing organization of the F.I.

Some of us belong to the Quebecois minority tendency which has existed within the section for more than a year. The others are comrades who have recently developed differences with the present line of the section on Latin America, the statutes of the International, work in the student milieu and work in the women's liberation movement. We are presently discussing the possibility of forming a united tendency on the basis of our positions on the above-mentioned questions.

Our uneasiness about a certain degeneration of the democratic norms of the section is not a recent thing. Already, in the preparation and course of the last convention of the section, a year ago, there were impermissible incidents, including publication by an important member of the Central Committee recommending to the members that they not read the minority documents and not give any representation to the minority on the new CC. Although these remarks were withdrawn by the comrade in question and the minority received representation on the CC, a vote was taken by the convention on a minority document, the English translation of which was not yet available, despite the fact that at most 15 percent of the delegates had the necessary linguistic knowledge to understand the French-language text.

During the year which has passed since the convention, the Quebec minority has faced an atmosphere of distrust and provocation, and has gradually been relieved of all its work areas. However, it was at the Waterloo educational conference and plenums of the Executive Council of the YS-LJS and the Central Committee of the LSA-LSO at the end of last August that the dissident-hunting atmosphere was definitively established. There, the comrades both of the Quebec minority and of the Atlantic provinces had to face provocation after provocation. Some of the members of the majority leadership demanded several times that they present their differences in public at the educational conference and that they vote against the majority reports at the EC of the YS-LJS, which for the members of the LSA-LSO would have constituted an open break of the section's discipline. The leadership made wide use of the technique of the amalgam, the dissident

positions being assimilated to those of Healy, Lambert and a minority which quit the section in 68-69.

The fact that two comrades of the Montreal LJS had already resigned from the editorial board of Liberation did not prevent the leadership of the YS-LJS from censuring them (around the Argentinian affair) and excluding them from the same editorial board, without informing them as to what disciplinary measures were to be proposed or permitting them to prepare a defense.

In another discipline matter, which had nothing to do with Quebec or the Atlantic provinces, a majority leader stated before the EC of the YS-LJS "we don't need any proof. You must have confidence in the leadership." !!!

In this atmosphere you can imagine our confusion when on August 31 the Political Committee of the LSA-LSO suspended the four members of the section in the Atlantic Provinces. This was followed on September 1 by the suspension of the entire Fredericton and Halifax locals (about thirty comrades altogether) by the Executive Council of the YS-LJS. We are sending you herewith some extracts of the minutes of the meetings concerned, in case you have not yet received them.

We wish to draw your attention to the following irregularities in the two cases:

- 1) The evidence in such a case must be founded on documents or verbal testimony. In both situations this material and the name of the accuser(s) must be specified to the accused so that they are able to prepare a defense. This has not been done despite the demands to this effect by the comrades implicated.
- 2) Taking measures, even before a preliminary report from the control commission or the commission of inquiry, and on the basis of secret testimony is completely irregular, given that there is no question of a breach of discipline outside the movement.
- 3) The control commission of the section was not elected at the last convention (by inadvertence) but was simply confirmed by the CC. It is composed entirely of majority comrades.
- 4) No procedure and no time limit have been ascertained for the two inquiries. Thus the suspension is limited and the comrades involved can in no way prepare their defense.
- 5) The exact meaning of the suspension has not been communicated to the comrades of the Atlantic provinces. Thus the whole work of the comrades is paralyzed, in a most promising situation. This region has experienced the highest growth rate both in membership and in political impact of the whole pan-Canadian Trotskyist movement in the last year.
- 6) These decisions were taken only two days after the plenum of the CC and after the departure of the comrades involved from Toronto. The PC minutes of August 27 indicate that the PC was already worrying about developments in the provinces but no effort was made to discuss with the comrades concerned. In this context, the motion adopted in the CC on the setting up of branches of the section and the refusal of the PC to constitute them in the Atlantic provinces takes on a purely factional character. They are aimed at preventing any recruitment, and this, in a very good situation.

On September 5, the National Committee of the LSO voted to expel comrade Gilbert Rousseau of Chibougamau for the following reasons; nonpayment of dues, no correspondence with the leadership, trade union work outside the control of the leadership. The majority of the NC rejected a

proposal to write a formal letter to this comrade informing him that he was not paying off his debts and that if he did not enter into regular contact, measures would be taken against him. The majority of the NC claim that it is not a disciplinary measure. We are sending you a copy of the letter that the NC sent to comrade Rousseau.

On September 10, we made telephone contact (Chibougamau is 700 miles from Montreal, including 200 miles by gravel road, and learned that 1) he had just received the NC's letter of September 6, this letter being the first official communication he had received since April 18, 2) that he had sent his dues and a report of trade union activities to the NC on September 8 before receiving the NC's letter. 3) that during two visits he had made to Montreal, one in April, the other in August, he had discussed his trade union work with members of the majority leadership.

This expulsion is not that of a simple militant fallen into inactivity. The comrade in question has occupied at various times important positions in the youth and the section and he has been one of the leaders of the minority tendency since its beginning. Before this time his attitude toward the financing of the movement was beyond reproach, and his delay can be easily explained by his isolation in the Quebec north. His expulsion by administrative channels is a factional gesture serving as a warning to the entire minority.

To these precise measures we must add three other threats and actions. First, several comrades of the Montreal majority leadership have monocholantly commented to the effect that inquiries are being made into the possibility that certain Montreal comrades who were on vacation are implicated in the Atlantic provinces affair. This is a scarcely-veiled threat of suspension for these Montreal comrades.

Secondly, it has also been posed that Comrade Christine Leroux be withdrawn from the LJS because she (allegedly) broke the discipline of the section at the plenum of the EC of the YS/LJS. Again this is only a rumor conveyed by certain majority leaders.

Thirdly, an LJS comrade has been forced to sign a public rectification of an article she wrote in a nationalist magazine. No formal charge of having put forward a line contrary to that of the LJS was laid against her. The rectification bears only on the tone of the article and the emphasis put on different aspects of the women's liberation movement in the article. The rectification was not written by the comrade and she is not at all in agreement with its tone. Although this action is formally permissible within the framework of a very rigid definition of democratic centralism, it is not in the tradition of the Trotskyist movement to oblige a comrade to be the spokesperson for nuances in the line with which he is not in agreement.

You will understand, comrades, that in this context serious questions must be posed as to the possibility for us to develop our political positions with a view to a democratic discussion for the next world congress and for the next conventions of the section and the pan-Canadian youth organization. We ask you therefore to investigate the situation in the section and to make the interventions that you think necessary.

Be assured of our full collaboration and our Bolshevik-internationalist greetings.

Michel Mill for

Denis Lambert LSO Montreal
Christine Leroux LSO Montreal
Michel Mill LSO Montreal
Leon Peillard LSO Montreal

Gilbert Rousseau expelled LSO Chibougamau

Terry Hamilton-Smith suspended LSA Fredericton
Carole Wright suspended LSA Fredericton

Walter Davis suspended LSA Halifax
Will Offley suspended LSA Halifax

cc: PC LSA/LSO, NC LSO

/Received in Toronto October 15, 1971 (via Brussels)

(Oct. 30, 1971-p.6)
p.1

REPORT ON THE MARITIMES SUSPENSIONS

On August 31, a few days following the plenum of the LSA/LSO and the plenum of the YS/LJS, the political committee of the LSA/LSO decided to suspend from all rights of membership but not from any of the obligations of membership, all four members of the LSA/LSO in the Maritimes: Comrades Will O _____, Walter D. _____ of Halifax, and Terry H _____ and Carol W _____ of Fredericton.

A month and a half later, at its October 17 meeting, the PC decided to reinstate the four comrades. At the same time, the PC unanimously agreed that the information that became evidence for the charge of gross disloyalty was sustained by its investigations. It unanimously passed a motion of censure against the four.

The suspensions of Aug. 31 were taken on the basis of certain information that had come to the attention of the PC on Aug. 31 and in the light of other recent developments. The PC concluded that it no longer knew where the four Maritime LSA/LSO members were headed. It questioned that there was any longer, in their relations with the centre, even the minimum necessary honest and integrity. It felt that decisions of the gravest implications to the work of the entire movement were being taken behind the back of the movement and that the movement could no longer assume any responsibility for the actions of these comrades. Acting in the interests of the movement and in the name of the movement it suspended the four comrades until the matter could be fully investigated.

The PC called for an immediate investigation of the information, and so that this investigation could take place with the full authority of the movement, so it could be pursued in any direction thought necessary, and as impartially as possible, it turned the entire matter over to the control commission. See Article VI, Section 1-4 of the LSA/LSO constitution. There were no charges laid. In correspondence with the four, the executive secretary informed them that the movement anticipated that they would continue all the regular work of the movement, selling the paper etc., strictly within the framework of the decisions of the movement clearly defined in the documents adopted at the previous convention of the League and the recent plenum, but that the movement would take no responsibility for any initiatives that they might take. The suspensions were of a temporary nature and of an emergency character in defense of the movement.

The control commission immediately went into action.

On Sept. 30, one month later, the control commission reported to the PC that (1) Comrades Terry H-S and Carol W _____ of Fredericton had not replied to any of the communications that had been forwarded to them by registered mail for the whole period from Sept. 1 to Sept 30 and that therefore it had no alternative but to turn the whole matter back to the political committee. It made no recommendations to the PC. The control commission also reported that (2) Comrades O _____ and D _____ of Halifax, while they had communicated with the commission, persisted in refusing to answer as to whether there was any validity in the information that the control commission had been asked to investigate and that it therefore had no alternative but to turn the matter back to the political committee. It made no recommendations.

2...Report on the Maritime suspensions

Subsequently the Political Committee received a communication from Terry H and Carol W dated Sept. 22, but not postmarked at the Fredericton Post Office until Oct. 1, announcing that "we will delay responding to the control commission, ...expressing little confidence in the ability of the control commission...and--requesting the intervention of the PC to ensure an objective investigation." although the unique powers of the control commission as outlined in our constitution, Article VI, were made known to them and even spelled out to them by the commission in its communication of September 10 -- that they are required to affirm or deny information referred to the commission and to supply it with any additional information pertinent to its investigation.

With the Control Commission's report of Sept. 30 that it was unable to proceed, the political committee unanimously decided to lay charges against Comrades O, D, H and W under Section 3, Article VIII of the constitution. The charge was gross disloyalty and the evidence was presented as follows:

The political committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere charges the following members of the LSA/LSO - Walter D and Will O of Halifax and Carol W and Terry H of Fredericton of acts of gross disloyalty to the LSA/LSO.

The essential evidence is outlined in the motion passed by the political committee on Aug. 31, 1971, referred to at that time as information which had come to its attention and which it turned over to the control commission for investigation.

On Sept. 30, the control commission reported that as of that date, neither comrades W and H had so much as acknowledged receipt of correspondence which it had initiated with them in order to carry out its function on behalf of the movement. It also reported that while it had received a joint communication from comrades O and D, they refused to answer the first question that the commission considered necessary in order to allow it to proceed with its investigation--whether the information was true or false. With the refusal of all four to cooperate with the control commission in its work authorized by the constitution of the LSA/LSO under Article VI, Section 4, the political committee decided at its Sept 30 meeting to accept the information as evidence and to press the charge of gross disloyalty against the four.

Gordon S, a member-at-large of the YS in Newfoundland and who transferred at the end of his school term to membership in the Fredericton local of the YS where he remained until Aug. 1, approved the following statement which he made to the executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere on Aug. 31, 1971:

(1)"YS/LJS secretary Joe Young came to the YS/LJS Atlantic provinces conference of June 26. Unknown to him, the conference held at B--'s extended over to the next day. Not only was he not invited but it was arranged so that he did not know of it. In common agreement with other participants he was diverted out of the way purposefully by Terry H. I protested this action against the executive secretary of the organization but it was defended by the com-

3...Report on the Maritime suspensions

comrades.

(2)"On Saturday July 31 the Halifax comrades of the YS, including Walter D and Will O, came to Fredericton to participate in what was commonly called "our" mini-conference, the conduct of which everyone knew was unknown to the central leadership of the movement.

(3)"During the month of July the YS Fredericton local commenced to write up two sets of minutes --one to be sent to the central office to appear as the official and accurate record of the meeting, the other to correctly record the work and decisions of the local to be retained by the Fredericton local for its own purposes. Terry H-S participated in this ruse."

While the above evidence constitutes the main basis for the charge of disloyalty since Aug 31 the following information has come to the attention of the political committee which tends to further sustain the charge:

(a) The registrar at the Waterloo Educational Conference testifies that when the Fredericton contingent came to register and pay their fees they asked her to see the treasurer who would handle the matter. Subsequently checking the accounts she found that the treasurer had already registered and noted on his card that he would pay later. The sum outstanding and of necessity advanced out of the resources of the LSA/LSO amounted to \$300 - the fees for 12 persons.

The registrar testifies that 6 Haligonians also failed to pay and a cheque issued for two by Walter D was subsequently returned NSF. Thus Halifax owes \$150 - for six persons.

While this particular debt was brought to the attention of the LSA comrades in both Fredericton and Halifax no explanation of this unusual situation has been offered and no apparent effort has been made to reimburse the movement for this outlay of its slender resources.

It has been further brought to the attention of the PC that over May, June, July and August a considerable debt was built up on other departments of the movement by both Halifax and Fredericton. The debt to Crescent as of Sept 3 was over \$150 for Fredericton and almost \$60 for Halifax bringing the total outstanding in all levels as of Sept 3 well over \$1000.

Comrades Will O and Walter D recently paid their Aug. dues but neither have shown signs that they intend to make any payments themselves or encourage YSers in Halifax to whittle down this debt. Another cheque issued by Walter D during or shortly after Waterloo has also returned NSF. Comrade Terry H-S has failed to recognize receipt of this information and make any effort to rectify the situation as he has failed to respond to any other communication, as of Sept. 30, since well before August.

(b) The executive secretary informed the political committee that on July 11 he sent an urgent letter to Terry H-S (a copy to Walter D) with regards to our work in the N.B. NDP. On the basis of a short reply from Walter D, he sent another communication of concern about our work in the NDP to Walter D (a copy to Terry H-S) Despite the urgency and the importance of the character of their work which he suggested could jeopardize our pan-Canadian work in the NDP Terry H-S failed to respond to either letter.

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(c) In its communication of Sept 10, 1971 the control commission noted that "in accordance with the powers invested in us by the constitution of the LSA/LSO, Article VI, Section 4, we require that you affirm or deny the above information and supply us with any addition information pertinent to our investigation". All four comrades have refused to either affirm or deny the validity of the information that was turned over to the control commission to investigate. Article VI, Section 4 reads "It shall be obligatory on every member of the League to furnish the control commission or its authorized representative with any information they may require."
submitted on behalf of the political
committee by Ross Dowson, Oct. 7, 1971.

On Oct. 4 through correspondence and phone calls the political committee arranged hearings with the four with the executive secretary Ross Dowson and central committee member Colleen L over the Thanksgiving weekend. On the afternoon of Oct. 9, Comrades O and D were personally presented with a copy of the charges and it was arranged to have a hearing later that evening. On Oct. 11 Comrades H and W were presented with the charges and later that same day a hearing was held. In both cases comrade Dowson explained that since it was not possible for the PC to go to the Maritimes or for the four comrades to go to Toronto that these hearings were an integral part of the trial. This was agreed and in the process of the hearings both the Halifax and Fredericton comrades spoke extensively and presented several statements for the record. The entire hearings were tape-recorded and subsequently made available to PC members.

On Oct. 17 the political committee met to hear a report by Comrades Dowson and Levis on the hearings.

Over and above the information gained through the hearings in Halifax and Fredericton there were new developments brought to the attention of the PC. Among them were (1) that as the hearings with the suspended Halifax YS/LJS local were drawing to a close, Comrade A gave Dowson a sealed letter for the youth executive secretary and, to Comrade L, what subsequently turned out to be a copy of it. After the hearings had been adjourned and Dowson and L were leaving to make connections with the bus to the airport to go to the Fredericton hearings, they read the letter to Levis to learn that 5 of the 11 members of the Halifax local had resigned from the local just the week before. The letter read as follows: "At our last local meeting, we were notified by five comrades (

) that they have decided to resign from the YS/LJS. Most of the comrades have stated that the main reason they have for leaving the movement is the centralist nature of the organization, and some of them are definitely developing into anarchist positions. They have not presented any formal statements to us as yet, and as soon as they do so we will issue a polemic against them. We will send copies of both documents to you as soon as they are available."

Dowson and L noted that in the course of the hearing it was apparent that one or two persons had left the organization, but that almost half had left and only at the previous local meeting became known to them only through this note after the hearings were ended and they were leaving for Fredericton. While waiting for the bus, Comrade Dowson managed to

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contact one of the five by phone to attempt to arrange an interview. The person never turned up and they were forced to leave. Upon returning, a letter was sent to those of the five whose addresses could be ascertained asking them if they cared to make a statement -- no reply has been received.

(2) On October 9, prior to leaving for the hearings, Comrade Dowson had a discussion with Richard IK---, formerly a leading activist in the Fredericton local of the YS/LJS, now a member of the Toronto local. Dowson reported that he showed R.K. a copy of the Sept 10 letter sent by the control commission which outlined the information it had been asked to investigate and which subsequently formed an important part of the evidence behind the PC charges. Dowson reported that RK said there were several errors not so much in fact as in interpretation. The Halifax conference actually did end the first day -- the following day we had a caucus, he said. He asked Dowson what a caucus was and then tended to modify that characterization of the meeting. Since he was not in Fredericton July 31, he said he knew nothing about the so-called mini-conference there. He said yes, there was a decision to keep two sets of records of the meetings. But that was done to (a) conform to the constant complaints by the youth central office that the minutes being sent in were too detailed and too long, and (b) to keep another record, a very detailed one that they, the Fredericton comrades, thought useful for their own purposes -- to follow the development of the various comrades and the evolution of the local.

(3) Three letters sent by the central office to either O or D by registered mail have been returned unclaimed. They were returned following the postman's inability to get a signature as proof of delivery, probably due to no one being present at the address at the time, the failure of anyone to claim it either on the first or second notice which results in automatic return of the letter to the original sender. The first letter was to D. It was returned some weeks ago but no action was taken as it was the formal notice of suspension similar to the one sent to O at the same address which appears to have been received. Subsequent correspondence convinced us that D knew of his suspension. The second letter was to O and the same as one sent to the same address to D which was apparently accepted.

The third letter, dated Sept 14, was just recently returned. It takes up the question of the financial debt, explains that the PC did not take up the information at the plenum as it did not have it until some days later, and comments on the status of youth members not present at the time of the events which subsequently became part of the evidence backing the charge. Dowson suggested that the youth leadership would probably designate them as members-at-large as the League did with one of its members who had just gone to Halifax.

(4) Dowson reported that late Sept. 28 he received a phone call from Terry H about recent developments in the NB NDP and a few days later a copy of an "NDP report passed by the YS executive Sept. 28 to be introduced to the YS local Oct. 2" that ended with the following words: "we phoned Ross Dowson Tuesday night and he approved our tactical perspectives and verbally authorized us to intervene with these tactics." Dowson reported that he immediately sent a letter to the Fredericton YS stating that he in no way approved of any tactical perspectives advanced by Terry H as should be readily understood

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from the present relationship between the central office and this comrade.

The general line of the YS executive report was a continuation of the line that Dowson had protested earlier in two letters to H and D which H never answered and which in the communication listing the charge and evidence is Point (B) -- as endangering our entire pan-Canadian work in the NDP.

The NDP report commences "For about nine months we have directed our NDP work towards building the Waffle in preparation for a decisive conflict with the right wing. This decisive conflict is underway. It began at the NDP convention September 25 and will end when the convention reconvenes on October 16". This is obviously a clear violation of our entire orientation to the NDP not only as outlined by our last convention but redefined at our recent plenum. The report noted that a leading YS/LJS member took part in writing the Waffle Manifesto, another wrote the women's rights resolution, and Terry H wrote the labor resolution.

The strategy of decisive conflict which "will end when the NDP convention convenes on Oct. 16" resulted in the Sept. 25 convention adopting by a marginal vote a whole series of infantile ultra-left resolutions and a walk-out of the trade union leadership. The political bureau met and instructed the editors of Labor Challenge to make a public dissociation of our movement from the showdown policy advanced by the YS executive and supported by Terry H and Carol W its Sept. 28 meeting. This public dissociation by our movement from the line developed by the Fredericton LSAs and YSers and applied unilaterally by them following H's refusal to answer the two letters from the executive secretary back in July warning them of the dangers of their course appeared in the Oct. 11, 1971 Labor Challenge Walkout breaks up N.E. NDP convention by P. Kent.

Dowson and Levis reported that Terry H, when confronted with the October 11 Labor Challenge, asked if that was the line that we to be followed at the October 16 gathering, and when informed that it was -- agreed to carry that line. October 16 saw the federal leadership of the NDP intervene behind the old provincial council in its decision to call for a convention in November and adjourn. The ultra-left continued with the rally, elected officers and thereby formalized a separate structure, consummating a split.

The Oct 17 PC meeting heard an extensive report by both Dowson and Levis of the hearings held in Fredericton and Halifax with many contributions by comrades who had listened to the tapes and/or read the correspondence.

Following the discussion the PC unanimously passed a motion (1) that the investigation including all the taped testimonials and replies of the four comrades sustains the evidence, particularly with regards to the Halifax and Fredericton conferences and indirectly the evidence related to the minutes; and (2) that the four Halifax and Fredericton comrades be reinstated with full rights of membership but that they are guilty as charged of being grossly disloyal and that they be censured for their conduct.

October 30, 1971

November 5, 1971
Toronto

To all branches of the LSA/LSO
locals of the YS6LJS
and members at large

Dear Comrades;

Can it be done ? Will we make our 4,000 sub objective?

Not unless we pull in 500 subscribers a week for the next three weeks, according to Peter Sharpe

That requires new forces coming into the fight, and possibly finding new areas of operation and new techniques--because we have only been averaging around 300 subscriptions for the past period.

It can be done. York showed it can when it went over its objective this week. The secret of their success is the CONSTANT mobilization of the local in order to hit the dorms. As soon as they have worked out their campus they are planning to move in on the community colleges. They think they have found a fool proof way--they follow the practice of holding out for the combination subscription. When a person has gone for one of the papers---with a little extra effort they find that they will take the combination offer nearly every time. And those few extra minutes of persuasion are worth hours

The Amchitka demonstrations ,with all the preparatory work, actually set us back--momentarily. Toronto found that even though the actions saw thousands of new and eager faces it was difficult to sell even single copies let alone subs. Students claim that it is not a matter of priorities--they don't have the money on them. We are thinking of leafletting the key walkout schools--telling them what the YS is, and coming back the next day to see what we can sign up.

There are no doubt still many comrades who haven't really worked over old friends and acquaintances. One of our top subgetters sat down and phoned a modest list of friends who he decided he should not accept as having no possibilities of change--particularly in the light of the response to the Amchitka threat. He got 21 subscriptions in the mail in the next few days.

There are some areas who have yet to reply to special letters that have been sent out. But of course everyone knows where they stand. And they know where we have to go. There is very little slack in the quotas. Every point has to make it for us to make the pan-Canadian objective. Time is running out.

The success of the campaign is already assured. But with a little extra effort---with everyone of us coming into the struggle, and now, we can firmly establish our press on the entire process of the current radicalization, and as never before put ourselves in such a position that our movement will be carried forward with it. It is up to each one of us to take advantage of this special opportunity

please check out the enclosed names and addresses--new subscriptions that came in the mail. Probable hot contacts.

fraternally

Ross Dowson executive scty
Phil Courneyeur, Edctl &
director

✓ We need the name and address and telephone number of at least two leading comrades in every center. Post office boxes do not give us the necessary ability to make the instant contact that is proving to be necessary

Please forward at once

✗ A new internal information bulletin is available. It contains an appeal of the Montreal tendency and four LSAers in the Maritimes to the United Secretariat and a reply by the Political Committee--15 cents a copy

November 15, 1971
Toronto

SOLIDARITY FUND DRIVE

To all branches and members at large ISA/LSO

Dear comrades;

There are already several notable features of our Solidarity Fund Drive

One of them is --we have not heard a word from the majority of the areas across the country. And the drive is for only a six week period, slated to end December 10.

Another is, that the few we have heard from are responding in a really big way.

The Members at large quota has been pre-empted with just one lump donation. Jean S has sent in \$500--so it is obvious that having already been oversubscribed several times that we will go many more times over our quota here. Three other quotas have been accepted. With the objective of \$2,000 the Toronto branch members have already guaranteed \$1,300 in pledges. Over \$600 has come into the central office in hard cash. Contacts are being approached and it seems certain that the \$700 sought from this source will be won. Vancouver has affirmed its special pledge to be paid in over the coming year which guarantees that the Vancouver YS will have a full timer on staff commencing NOW. And we have heard through a comrade who recently visited Edmonton that they have accepted their \$200 quota.

Perhaps the other important feature of this Solidarity Fund Drive is the Political Committee's complete confidence, despite the widespread silence, that we will reach our \$6,600 quota and go over the top and on time too.

Earlier this month there was a meeting of the International Executive Committee the highest body of the Fourth International between congresses. Coming out of one of the many decision made, there was a recommendation that the Canadian section participate even more fully than it has in the past in the central leadership by

- 1) almost doubling our regular monthly financial contribution and (2) by reinforcing the international center by sending leading personnel to work there full time and for an extended period.

On behalf of the Canadian section the Political Committee has replied YES to both. We are making the substantial contribution increase, starting NOW. Within a week or so two leading Montreal comrades will be in Europe to take on any assignment. The Montreal ISO and IJS who will feel this loss in immediately available forces, agree that this is both an opportunity and a responsibility of our movement to the Fourth International.

Never before has the framework for a Solidarity Fund Drive been so clearly set down before the movement. We anticipate your immediate response to this challenge

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

FINDING OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

At its October 17 meeting the political committee of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere had a lengthy discussion based on the tapes of the hearings held in both Halifax and Fredericton over the October 9, 10, 11 weekend with comrades Walter D , Will O and Terence H and supplementary observations by comrades Dowson and L who conducted the hearings. Following the discussion it unanimously passed a motion that comrades are guilty as charged of gross disloyalty to the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

While it decided to lift the suspensions that it brought into play on a temporary and emergency basis on August 31, and to restore the four comrades to full rights of membership, at the same time it unanimously passed a motion of censure against them for acts of gross disloyalty.

Underpinning their acts of disloyalty was their formation of a hidden or undeclared tendency behind the back of the movement and hostile to its democratically elected leadership and the positions adopted by the movement at its convention and the plenary session of the CC which the leadership is committed to uphold and apply.

This led all four comrades to flagrantly violate the constitution of the LSA-LSO, in particular Article 6 Section 4.

It also led the Fredericton comrades to pursue, for some months, behind the back of the movement, a line with regards to the NDP which is clearly and flagrantly in violation of the declared line of the movement. While it is not yet possible to assess the effect of this line in New Brunswick it is clear that there were grave dangers that it would hopelessly compromise our years of work in the NDP across Canada -- this danger, despite remedial actions taken by the leadership of the League, may by no means be yet overcome.

The evidence that led to the laying of the charge is contained on pages 2,3, and the top of page 4 of the attached document, "Report on the Maritimes suspensions". Supplementary evidence was presented by the executive secretary to the political committee as outlined in other sections of the "Report...".

(significance of the)
So that there should be no confusion with regards to the evidence about the extension of the Atlantic Conference and the Fredericton mini-conference, we would point out that while our movement seeks to be a homogeneous force, we consider it is inevitable that differences will develop within our ranks.

It is only natural that comrades who feel they have a common evaluation of certain problems and questions before the movement should meet together to exchange experiences and ideas and even take decisions that they think will enable them to more effectively bring their views to the attention of the whole movement. At times some think it necessary to form a tendency to attempt to change the policy of the movement and even bring the leadership into harmony with the changed policies.

But the long organizational experience of our movement that spans some seventy years of struggle to build Bolshevik parties, demonstrates to us that it is essential that differences within the movement should not be exaggerated. It is also essential for the health of the movement that they should be expressed frankly and openly and not behind the back of the movement, thereby preventing the collective experience of the movement from coming into play. If differences are confined in their development to a fringe of the movement or a sector of the movement, they tend to give comrades involved a one-sided view, lining them up quickly and prejudicing their thinking before they have heard an open party debate, and warping their capacity for objective judgment.

Comrades who think they have differences should conduct themselves in a responsible and disciplined manner so as to safeguard the unity of the movement and educate the membership in principled politics.

The evidence of Gordon S. and supplementary information learned through the hearings revealed that the 4 LSA/LSOers utilizing their prestige and authority as leaders of the Fredericton and Halifax youth locals formed a tendency which they hid behind the backs of the rest of the movement and which they developed in such a way as to make it hostile to it. What flowed out of this policy pursued by the four, who should have known better, confirmed, in a negative way, the experiences of those who have gone before us. Now that it has been brought out into the open by the intervention of the political committee it is to be hoped that not only the comrades directly involved but the entire movement will learn from it.

The Control Commission

The charge of gross disloyalty was only laid on September 30 -- a full month after the emergency and temporary acts of suspension, and only following the report of the control commission of its inability to proceed as asked by the PC and empowered by the LSA/LSO constitution -- Article VI - Sections 1-4.

The Halifax comrades refused to make any response of any kind with regards to the informations they were confronted with by the control commission -- but rather presented a whole series of counter charges and a whole series of demands on the commission. In the case of Fredericton the control commission was met with absolute silence.

In the course of the investigation comrade O. and comrade D. attempted to defend their refusal to answer to the control commission. They argued that the control commission's request for information was in essence a demand that they give a "yes or no" answer which they pedantically informed L. Dowson is completely undialectical. Comrade O. gave the impression that he had been unclear as to what was involved, although the control commission quite clearly explained the situation in several communications.

Comrades H. and W., in correspondence that arrived after the charge had been laid, went so far as to actually challenge the integrity of the control commission. Although they gave no grounds for doing so, the implication was that this body, struck off by the convention as an institution uniquely removed from internal party conflicts and thereby uniquely qualified to have the complete trust of

every comrade, was in fact corrupt, was biased, and to such an extent ~~that~~ that it couldn't be considered to be ^{as} unbiased as the body which actually enforced the suspensions- the political committee. They demanded that the PC itself intervene to "ensure an objective investigation".

While on ^{the} one hand the Halifax comrades were demanding a rapid settlement of the matter because they claimed, contrary to the terms of the suspensions as outlined by the PC, the suspensions blocked them from all political activity. Comrade H-S replied to our enquiry as to why he refused to respond to the control commissions correspondence -- with the Jesuitical argument that he had by no means refused. None of the demands of the control commission mentioned any time limit, he said.

It is clear beyond any doubt whatsoever that all four comrades violated the constitution of our movement, in particular Article 6 Section 4 which clearly states that "it shall be obligatory on every member of the league to furnish the control commission or its authorized representatives with any information they may require". They did so fully conscious of the ~~of their act~~. They thereby challenged the essential integrity of our movement. They blocked a process of investigation and thereby forced the political committee to take further action in the interest of the movement. By this alone they have validated the charge that they have acted in a grossly disloyal way to the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

With regards to the specific evidence presented by Comrade Stone numbered 1,2,3, in the evidence and which was the basis of the points of information that the control commission was blocked from getting clarification on ---

Nearly every comrade in Halifax and in Fredericton participated in discussions which took place June 27th, --the day following the official day of the Atlantic provinces conference--at the same site as the conference. Also attending were Leon P of the Montreal LSO tendency and tendency sympathizers Jean-Paul and Kim of the Montreal LJS.

1) Dowson and L were told that no one was actually informed or invited to the gathering that took place on the 27th. Dowson and L were told that the Executive Secretary of the YS/LJS Comrade Young, who had come from Toronto for the previous day's conference and had stayed over with no particular assignment, did not happen to arrive there, entirely by chance, whereas nearly everyone else did happen to arrive there entirely by chance. By chance comrade T. H also did not arrive but ended up accompanying comrade Young.

2) The discussion, which said to have been completely informal and without plan, also just happened to concentrate on the differences which it was felt those participating had with the Executive Secty's report of the previous day--including women's liberation, the abortion campaign, and our policy towards Quebec nationalism.

3) While others claimed complete ignorance Comrade B-- stated that it was true that Comrade S did protest what he considered to be a policy of excluding Executive Secty Joe Young, consciously decided upon by some or all persons participating in the discussions. Comrade B said that she dismissed his protest because she no longer considered him to be a serious comrade.

Whether it can be said that the June 27th meeting was the Atlantic provinces conference extended another day or not, is irrelevant. What in effect took place in Halifax was a meeting, in which Montreal tendency supporters participated as did ^{many} all of the Maritime comrades. The existence of this meeting, in which Montreal tendency supporters participated, was kept from the knowledge of the Executive Secretary, in Halifax at the time on behalf of the movement, and hidden from both the League and Youth CO until the L Dowson probings at the hearings.

What took place on July 31st in Fredericton? Halifax comrades claimed that it was a chance and informal "gathering" which also ^{just} happened to discuss what was described as wide sweeping political differences with almost every political position of the majority of the YS/LJS, and just happened to find almost every Halifax comrade there following a six hour drive along with Leon P. of the Montreal tendency and Kim C. of the Montreal LJS. Comrade T. H. affirmed that it was called by some "our mini-conference"- although he for aesthetic reasons, did not like the words. That this meeting took place was also unknown to the central leadership of the Youth and League until revealed by Comrade Stone.

The evidence given to the executive secretary by comrade S. on these two aspects, was completely sustained. These meetings involved nearly all the comrades in the Maritimes, including the four League members who are the actual leaders of the youth, plus members and sympathizers of the Montreal tendency, and took place outside the knowledge of the leadership and in an atmosphere of conspiracy against the leadership of the movement. Such actions gravely undermine all our efforts to build the Canadian Bolshevik Party that can only be constructed in an atmosphere of mutual trust confidence, and honesty in relations. We consider the leading role in preparing and participating in these meetings played by comrade(s) to constitute an act of gross disloyalty to the Canadian Section of the Fourth International and a flagrant violation of their responsibility as league members to the YS/LJS in which they hold membership.

What about the information that two sets of minutes were kept by the Fredericton local - one being sent to the centre to appear as the official and accurate record, the other retained by Fredericton for its own use. A subsequent search of the YS/LJS central office files revealed that no minutes of any kind had been received since April.

The Halifax comrades disclaimed any knowledge of this matter. The Fredericton comrades denied that this was so in fact claimed that there were no minutes in any real meaning of the word since April. When checked by comrade L. the Fredericton records proved to be in great disarray and what records there were of meetings since April were still largely in the state of rough notes. From information gathered at the hearings and in discussions with the comrades we conclude that the Fredericton local had following the May YS Plenum in effect collapsed. This picture jibed with that outlined by S. to the LSA/LSO Executive Secty about the situation in Fredericton, but which did not enter into the evidence.

S.'s evidence on the first two points was completely sustained by the investigation. We do not think that the investigation of point 3 discredited S.'s allegations, particularly in the light of comments made by comrade RK formerly of Fredericton, to the Executive Secretary of the LSA. It would appear to us that the idea of preparing two sets of minutes, one of them especially for the CO, was in all probability talked about, flowing from the poisoned atmosphere that has been developing in Halifax and Fredericton of opposition and conspiracy against the centre, even though it does not appear to have actually taken place - probably because of the collapse of the Fredericton operation in April.

What about the sudden build up of debt by both Fredericton and Halifax (A) from zero to over 1,000 dollars in the course of a few months. The comrades in Halifax and particularly the comrades in Fredericton pointed to their previous undeniably excellent financial record with the centre.

They appeared to be completely unable to comprehend that it was exactly his previous excellent relationship which was suddenly reversed without the knowledge or agreement of the centre, that was the cause of the uneasiness on the part of the centre.

They appeared to think their previous good record made it unnecessary to reply to central office requests for payment or that arrangements to pay be made. They explained to L. Dowson that unforeseen expenses occurred in travelling to Waterloo that so depleted their funds that they required the money allocated for registration to meet the costs of their return to the Maritimes. They appeared to think it normal that it was unnecessary to explain these circumstances to the comrades responsible for the league's and youth's financing, and seemed unable to comprehend that their rapidly building up these assorted debts could be any cause for unease in the center.

As for (B) -- the failure of Comrade H. to reply to correspondence from the executive secretary in July about Fredericton's activities in the NDP which he feared were jeopardizing the League's cross-Canada work in the NDP. During the hearing comrade H. presented a record of poor communication from the center with Fredericton, as if this were relevant to the failure to answer correspondence of an urgent character from the executive secretary, written in the name of the political committee, involving the line of the movement in the key area of our work -- the NDP.

Comrade H. also read into the record some previous correspondence from the executive secretary expressing doubt about the Fredericton line, but along with this, assorted other statements by various comrades, generally commendatory of the Fredericton NDP work. The implication was that the executive secretary's views were only his personal opinions and had, if any weight, less than that of the assorted incidental opinions of other comrades. He took it further, from the political plane by stating that the executive secretary returned from Europe "disoriented." He stated that Dowson lied when he denied H.'s September 28 statement to the Fredericton YS that Dowson "approved our tactical perspective and verbally authorized us to intervene with these tactics." # onto a highly personal plane

The worst fears that lay behind the political committee's emergency and temporary suspensions were confirmed when Comrades H. broke their silence on the NDP by forwarding a document entitled "NDP report passed by the YS executive September 28 to be introduced to the YS local October 2" This document confirmed in black and white what the central leadership sensed but was barred from taking any action by the disloyal conduct of comrades H.

This document commenced; "For about nine months we have directed our NDP work towards building the Waffle in preparation for a decisive conflict with the right wing. This decisive conflict is underway. It began at the NDP convention September 25 and will end when the convention reconvenes on October 16." The report noted that a leading YS/LJS member took part in writing the Waffle Manifesto, another wrote the women's rights resolution and comrade H. wrote the labor resolution.

This line is a clear violation of our entire orientation to the NDP, not only as outlined by our last convention but made even more explicit by the statement passed unanimously at our plenum.

The September 25 convention of the NB NDP saw a showdown struggled by elements who call themselves Waffle, and a de facto split. The political bureau of the LSA LSO, in defence of the movement, asked the editors

of Labor Challenge to make a public dissociation from the ultra-left line of the resolutions and any strategy of decisive conflict at this time with the right wing. This appeared in the October 11 issue of Labor Challenge and was carried forward in the November 8 issue of Labor Challenge.

When L. Dowson arrived in Fredericton they were informed that, following Dowson's repudiation of H. 's claim that he had approved of the tactics and perspectives outlined in the September 28 report, all Fredericton comrades had withdrawn from NDP activity. They did so according to H. because of the political committee's repudiation of its responsibilities of leadership. After reading the article in the October 11 issue of Labor Challenge which L. Dowson brought with them, H. asked if this was the line. When informed that it was, even though they stated their disagreement they committed themselves to implement it.

If it was at first unclear and a cause of grave concern to the political committee as to what line the Fredericton comrades were carrying in the New Brunswick NDP--the September 28 YS report supported by both comrades, H. made it very clear that for the previous several months at least they had been carrying a line, behind the back of the entire movement (and not just the executive secretary writing in some personal capacity) which was clearly in violation of the democratically arrived at line of the movement which it is the responsibility of all members to uphold and the leadership to enforce.

The role of LSA/LSO members D., O., H. and W. in the situation that developed over the summer and fall in the Maritimes YS/LJS is indeed a reprehensible one. Instead of providing an example to the youth who have been finding their way to Trotskyism, they have acted in a most destructive way, against the interests of structuring an effective operation around the movement to which they claim adherence.

They attempted to tie the youthful and inexperienced forces in the YS/LJS, not to the pan-Canadian forces of world Trotskyism, but to themselves, on a narrow and personal, clique basis. In part this was done by never formulating, whatever the views they hold, in a serious way so that they could be examined and evaluated both by the Maritime and pan-Canadian Trotskyists.

They have scarcely formulated their views and have never really documented them. They have been directing a hidden tendency behind the back of the movement. Even as late as October 9-11, when the LSA-LSO executive secretary and a top leader of the YS/LJS were in Halifax and Fredericton they were not so much as given a hint by the four LSA-LSO Maritime comrades that almost a month earlier, on September 16, they had signed an appeal which only a handful of comrades at most and none of the leadership of the Canadian section, the section that they are members of, had so much as heard about, until the United Secretariat sent a copy. This appeal, not to the Canadian section but to the United Secretariat, went far beyond "housekeeping" differences or differences in our work in the student and women's liberation milieu. They declared themselves as "comrades who have recently developed differences with the present line of the section" -- not only on "work in the student milieu and work in the women's liberation movement", but "with the present line of the section on Latin America and the statutes of the International", and as comrades who "are presently discussing the

possibility of forming a united tendency on the basis of our positions on the above mentioned questions."

But while the differences that they express in vague and general terms and formulae continue to expand and widen out, they continue to remain undocumented. The closest that the four LSAers have come to documenting them is not in the League but in the youth movement -- the YS/LJS. At the August YS/LJS plenum they were party to the presentation of two documents on the very day of the discussion and decision. During the hearings comrade B. of Halifax stated that while the idea for these statements came up at the Fredericton mini-conference, the signatures of endorsement of the two locals on them were erroneous, since the two locals had not actually voted on them. Comrade H-S was encouraged to present his views on the NDP to the League plenum. He was still in town following the youth plenum but he pulled back from taking advantage of the opportunity.

Because of the manner in which the four Maritime LSA-LSOers conducted themselves from the time that they became conscious of whatever differences they think they hold with the line of the Canadian section, the fact that they operated in an atmosphere of secrecy, and distrust, confused the situation in the movement. Because they did not know how to conduct themselves in a Bolshevik fashion they made it very difficult for the comrades assigned the responsibility of giving overall direction to the work of the pan-Canadian movement to know what was happening, how serious the situation was, and how to come to grips with it.

The Political Committee intervened in a process which was clearly a deteriorating one for our entire Maritime work. The intervention, while drastic, has proven to have been absolutely necessary in the interests of the entire movement.

The Political Committee anticipates that this experience, while a very important one from the point of view of coming to an understanding of the norms of Bolshevik organization, will become only an incident in the onward process of building the Canadian section. It anticipates that not only will all the Maritime comrades directly involved, but particularly those four members of the LSA who have been censured by the Political Committee, will learn by this experience and the entire movement will gain by it.

November 15, 1971

December 6, 1971
Toronto

To all branches and members at large

Dear comrades

No doubt many comrades and sympathizers want to know where our projected theoretical journal is at, particularly those who responded so enthusiastically by pledging substantial amounts of money at Waterloo to make it materially possible.

We are ~~not~~ ahead, but we are behind schedule. Since Waterloo there have been a great many changes in allocation of personnel that have inevitably affected the smoothness of our operations in the center.

Comrades S. [redacted] and Young have been assigned to Halifax, leaving Labor Challenge without an editor and shaking up our bookstore operation. Comrades Riddell and J. [redacted] who played a big role in Liberation and English work in Quebec have been assigned to work elsewhere. Comrade N. [redacted] has been moved from Toronto branch organizer to work in the Winnipeg area, Comrade S. [redacted] has been shifted from our accounts to the Vanguard bookstore, comrade Courneyeur, while keeping his hand in the educational department has been shunted for the next period into the paper. Other comrades have been moved into the gaps but there is no question our operations have been shaken up and it will take a period of adjustment to get rolling again.

There were some suggestions that in view of this we should postpone publication of the journal. However the political committee has unanimously decided against this. We are going to proceed, shifting the deadline of our first issue forward a bit--but to get it out well in time for the second semester of the universities which are an area where we consider it will have some considerable impact.

The editors have been struck off by the political committee. They are as follows; editor--Ross Dowson

associate editors --John Riddell, Joan N. [redacted] Beverly B. [redacted] Dick F. [redacted], Alain B. [redacted], Jacquie H. [redacted] and Phil C. [redacted]

Of the \$6,380.00 pledged at the Waterloo launching there is still an outstanding amount of \$2,425.00--as follows;

Toronto	\$860	Ottawa	45	Halifax	150	U.S. friend
Vancouver	185	Kitchener	135	Fredericton	165	100
Hamilton	25	Saskatoon	75	Edmonton	100	
St Kits	100	Montreal	135	Richmond Hill	100	
Hull	50	Winnipeg	100	Peterboro	100	

It would be very good if these outstanding amounts were cleared up before the New Year

Several names for the new quarterly have been tossed around. If anyone has a name that they think should be considered we would like to hear about it.

Forward to the first issue of the first Canadian Trotskyist theoretical journal

comradely

Ross Dowson

December 8, 1971
334 Queen St., W
Toronto

Dear comrades;

The past few years has seen Canadian Trotskyism move out boldly in many fields and on many projects involving the raising of considerable sums of money. We are continuing to develop this skill which is necessary, very necessary, in order to widen our capacity to propagandize for socialism and to shape up our organization--so essential to achieve the socialist revolution in Canada.

However in some ways we have not learned how to expend these resources which in all too many cases were extremely hard to come by. Some of these incidents are the result of the enthusiasm of comrades to move boldly and to take advantage of every advanced method of communication and circulation available, to get out our ideas, particularly our press---but untempered by a necessary realism.

For instance our circulation department was recently instructed to rush a bundle of papers to a community where an NDP convention was being held. The only way that the issue containing material of special interest to the delegates could have arrived in time was shipping by air express. This immediately added 20 cents to the cost of each copy of the paper--a very doubtful venture when you consider that this convention while important did not mark any particular turning point. However instructions were followed out. We have since been informed by postal authorities that the parcel costing over \$15 was not picked up by the comrade who made all the arrangements.

Shortly after the circulation department was asked to send a bundle of papers by air express to another convention site. Fortunately upon investigation we found that notification was adequate to permit shipment by first class, at only a quarter of the cost.

Such high costs seem to cause those locals or branches initiating such actions to think that instead of their absorbing them, that they should be spread through the movement--we gather this from the fact that rarely have the bills for them been met. However in such circumstances we must ask ourselves, when our publications are a fortnightly and a monthly, whether it is necessary and justifiable for us to try assume such an interventionist stance, and whether the regular issue is not adequate.

Around special events our circulation departments have taken the liberty of increasing bundles going out to branches or locals. On occasion a branch or local has ordered special bundles which for reasons beyond their control they proved unable to use. Instead of informing the office asking for adjustment, three centers have recently returned bundles at considerable cost to themselves, and of course the pooled resources of the movement. We do not think that our circulation departments are unreasonable and are not prepared to take the word of a branch or local as to unsaleable copies on hand--so that shipping costs can be saved and the papers can be used for promotional purposes.

Somewhile back we decided to move towards building a library of films that could be rented out for educational purposes. We purchased a copy of Tzar to Lenin. The first rental run of this film proved to be a disaster --without one cent coming in and many commitmentsemparrassingly unfulfilled. This was due first to an undreamed of inefficiency of the postal system and next, by comrades ignoring commitments they were informed of and taking it upon themselves to arrange showings elsewhere. The second run has proved to be not much better. So far no funds have come in and the educational department has been stuck with a \$15 shipping cost

Yes, we have to be bold. We have to search out every opening. We have to seize every opportunity. We have also to be realistic and we have to tighten up our operation from the center outward.

Ross Dowson for
The Finance Committee